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Voice of UAW Militants

**30 Hours Work—
40 Hours Pay
JOBS FOR ALL — NOW!**
April 26th Rank and File Coalition

**60,000
Workers
March On
Washington**



**Rip-offs mount: First SUB, now short week and medical benefits
Unionists Defend Home Against Racist Firebombs
The Two Souls of CLUW
Center section: Winds of Change—Outlook for the next 3 years**

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Editorial

UAW LEADERS DEFEND BANKRUPT SUB PLAN

Any lingering doubts that we can expect positive leadership from the people now running Solidarity House should be cleared up by an article in the May 18, Detroit Free Press entitled: "UAW Plans to Seek SUB Fund Changes." This article begins by stating that restructuring the SUB "will carry an A-1 priority tag in the 1976 contract negotiations." For the families of laid off workers, the end of 1976 is a long time to wait to deal with the hardships we face today.

But the shocker in the article is that even in 1976, the UAW leadership has no plans to demand from the corporations "massive infusions of new money into the SUB account."

UAW Vice President Ken Bannon is quoted as saying: "We can't create a bottomless fund."

The United National Caucus and others in the UAW have been demanding that the union should fight to force that SUB be guaranteed by the corporations' total assets. Vice President Douglas Fraser disagrees. He defends the concept of a SUB program that goes broke when it is most needed stating: "It is just too expensive to bump SUB upward to cover catastrophic situations."

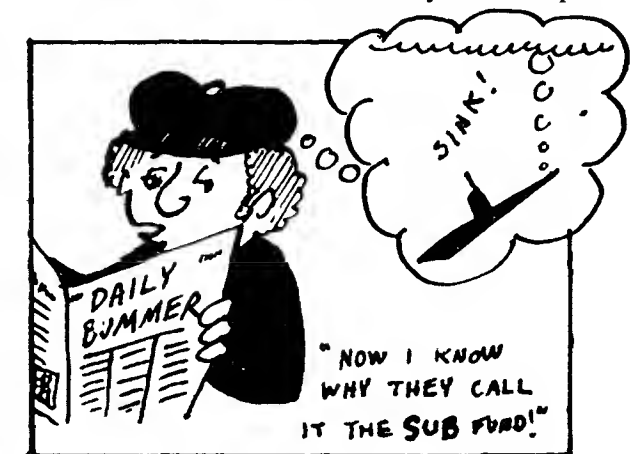
TIME TO DEFEND THE MEMBERSHIP

Fraser and Bannon may feel personally secure with their high salaries and double pensions. But the rank and file auto worker will need protection against economic catastrophe.

HARD TIMES WILL BECOME MORE AND MORE A COMMON OCCURANCE IN THE YEARS TO COME.

We can expect General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler to cry "too expensive" when workers insist on our right to continue feeding and providing for our families year around. They are among the richest and most powerful corporations the world has ever known, and they intend to stay that way—even at the cost of sucking it out of our blood.

It's time for the UAW leadership to stop worrying about the economics of the giant corporations and start worrying about the family economics of the UAW membership. It's "too expensive" when UAW members lose their homes and cars because they can't keep



up the payments. It's "too expensive" when a family breaks up under the pressure of economic hardship. The corporations already have lots of people looking out for their economic interests. **The UAW leadership should forget about protecting the corporations and begin looking out for the interests of the membership.**

OLD AGAINST YOUNG

The changes in the SUB program being considered by the leadership are based on the view that there will be an economic upturn before the 1976 contract (a good assumption). Therefore, the changes are designed to deal with the next major round of layoffs that can be expected in 1977 or 1978. Three possible changes are under consideration: 1) Lower SUB payments to stretch the money out further. 2) Transfer money from COLA to SUB 3) Cut off benefits to low seniority workers to give better protection to those with higher seniority. These are proposals for wage cuts and for creating hostility between high and low seniority workers.

As long as the UAW leadership refuses to demand "massive infusions of new money into the SUB account" all other proposals for SUB changes are just tricks to confuse the membership. At best, these proposals mean putting money in your left pocket by taking it out of your right pocket. At worst, it means playing off one group of workers against another.

Some older workers complain that they have been paying into the SUB fund for years and now these young people have come along and wiped it dry. The layoffs, of course, can hardly be blamed on the younger workers. Nor can laid off workers be faulted for receiving SUB benefits they have been entitled to under our agreements. The higher seniority workers do have a just grievance. **But their legitimate anger should be directed against the companies who caused the layoffs, not against the union brothers and sisters who are victims of those layoffs.**

At the same time, workers on layoff may be very receptive to the concept that new money to bail out SUB should be generated by cutting the pay of those on the job (a cut in COLA is a payout, pure and simple). However, during times of mass unemployment, cuts in COLA would only constitute a drop in the bucket toward actually backing up SUB and giving

substantial additional protection to the unemployed. This proposal can only have two effects, **BOTH DETRIMENTAL TO THE ENTIRE UAW MEMBERSHIP:** 1) It fosters conflict between the employed and the unemployed; 2) It marks at a time that inflation is getting ready to soar through the ceiling, a UAW surrender to corporate attempts to destroy COLA which have been the focus of major controversy since 1967.

The top UAW leadership are encouraging thinking that can only create conflict and divisions in our union between the young and the old. **At a time like this, the "A" number one job of the leadership should be to create total membership unity.** Conflict and divisions already exist between workers and the companies. They are caused by corporate attempts to try and make us pay for their economic problems. **We must fight every attempt by the top UAW leadership to reestablish "labor-management harmony" at the cost of programs that cause conflict and disunity in our own ranks. The alternative is guaranteed defeat for all workers, young and old.**



CALL FOR EMERGENCY CONVENTION

Should the UAW challenge the right of the giant corporations to layoff massive numbers of workers? Should our union resist the layoffs with every feasible means at its disposal? Should we demand that the corporations make good on the 52 weeks of SUB that every seniority worker was promised?

So far, the top UAW leadership has answered these questions with a resounding "NO!" With statements like "not possible" and "It can't be done," they have refused to even consider any programs directed at pressing the corporations for concessions to protect the jobs and economic security of the membership.

During times of economic hardship, corporations will always move to protect their profits, by trying to shift the burden of economic hardship to the workers. It is as natural for them to do this, as it is for a hungry beast of prey to hunt for food. But it is also natural for workers to do everything possible to defend ourselves from attack, to make every effort to protect our jobs and economic security. This is why we organize ourselves into a union. We cannot effectively protect ourselves as individuals. It takes organized collective action.

With the UAW leadership taking a negative and defeatist attitude, the responsibility to straighten the union out falls squarely on the shoulders of active rank and file UAW militants. The top union leadership is far out of line. This gives us an opportunity to bring the issues to the membership in a way that can really turn on the heat.

The method to do this has been suggested by the United National Caucus. At the caucus conference, June 8, 1975 (most readers will receive Network after the conference is over) there will be a proposal to launch a campaign throughout the UAW demanding an Emergency Special UAW Convention. By means of

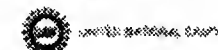
literature, petitions, and resolutions at local union meetings, the caucus will be organizing to press the UAW International Executive Board (IEB) to call a special convention in Detroit for the purpose of coming up with an effective program to fight the layoffs, to guarantee the SUB, and to achieve full employment. The reason behind this move is simple and convincing: only two bodies in the UAW can set policy—the IEB and the Convention. The IEB has shown it won't act, and no regular convention is scheduled til March of 76. Only a Special Convention can really change things. There are already UAW locals in several different areas of the country who have discussed this proposal and who are ready to put it in effect. If properly organized, this campaign can find sponsors in locals throughout this union.

Opposition to the resolutions and petitions

WOODCOCK:

Defend Our JOBS—

Not Big 3 Profits!



will come from loyal supporters of the top union leadership. But they will be on weak ground. This campaign if aggressively pushed can create an atmosphere in which the membership, in local after local, is forced to chose sides.

Supporting the demand for a special convention means believing that the union should organize to resist layoffs and guarantee the SUB. The United National Caucus will put forward its program for doing this. But anyone who believes the union should act in this area, **whether or not they agree with the United National Caucus program**, should support the demand for a convention. All proposals for effective union action should be solicited, and fully debated.

Opposing the special convention means accepting policies and actions of the top union leadership and seeing no need for a change. Anyone who opposes the special convention should be forced to defend his position that **nothing can be done, and nothing should be tried** to resist layoffs and to guarantee the SUB. The debate over whether or not to demand a special convention will open up heated discussion among the membership on the most fundamental issues facing the UAW and the entire labor movement today.

Using this campaign to force the debate, the bankruptcy of the policies of the present UAW leadership can be exposed for anyone with an open mind and open eyes. It can create so

much pressure that the leadership will be forced to respond—either by calling the convention, or by taking other action on the layoff issue in order to ease the pressure. Any such response would be an important victory for the rank and file.

This campaign gives the United National Caucus its greatest opportunity to date to increase and expand its organized presence in the UAW. It provides an activity that any individual or group in the UAW who agrees with the basic caucus approach, can participate in at least at the most minimal level of distributing literature, circulating petitions, proposing resolutions. The drive can put those individuals or groups at the center of an important dialog in their locals.

The UAW members who actively participate in this campaign will be the people who are starting to put themselves forward as the leadership of a new movement that is being built throughout the union. These are the same people who will be organizing against overtime while there are layoffs, against speedup, deteriorating conditions, harassment, and the score of other problems that now face UAW members with growing intensity. The United National Caucus, by coordinating these activities, by providing a program of action, and by bringing together these militants from across the union, can greatly increase their strength and influence and its own.

A Program for Full Employment

The UAW should demand of the corporations:

1) Call all laid off workers back immediately by scheduling short work weeks, paying short work week benefits to everyone with one year or more seniority, out of corporate funds as provided in the 1973 agreements. (Low seniority workers to accrue time toward one year based on calendar days, not working days.)

2) Establish an absolute ban on all overtime while there are layoffs. Stop all speedup, harassment of working members, harassment of members on sick leave, working foremen, and other management techniques of "stealing jobs."

3) Reimburse each UAW member all money not received due to bankruptcy of the SUB fund—money to be paid out of general corporate treasury. Establish that all future SUB programs be backed up by corporate assets.

4) Establish the goal of total COLA on all pensions, and establish the right to one year trial retirements to any worker with 30 years' service, so that our high seniority brothers can enjoy the retirement they deserve while making room in the plants for younger workers.

5) Stop all subcontracting to non-union of substandard job shops. No shipping out of work while there are layoffs to shops that have not normally done that work during good times.

6) 30 hours work for 40 hours pay should be re-established by the UAW as a primary bargaining objective in future contracts as a means of fighting for more employment in the traditions of our original UAW pioneers.

The UAW should demand of the government:

1) By law, shorten the work week to 30 hours for all workers, at 40 hours pay.

2) Establish a massive public works program at union wages.

3) Guarantee anyone actually seeking work unemployment compensation at a full union wage for as long as it takes to find employment.

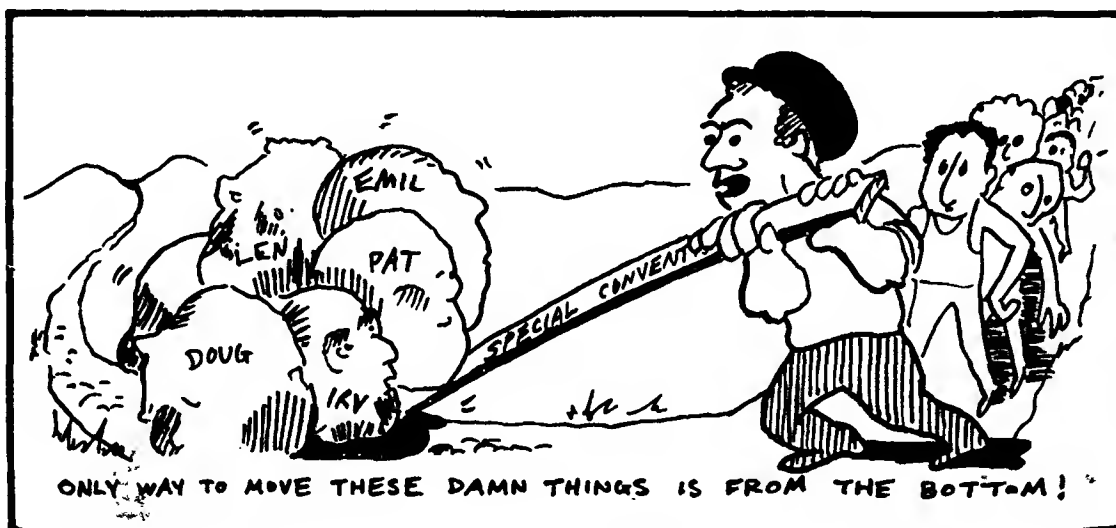
To back up these demands, we propose the following effective actions:

1) Total UAW support to Local action against overtime, speedup, harassment, etc. The UAW to launch a national publicity campaign to explain and defend this. Training classes and interchange of experiences to be organized by the International.

2) Selective strike action based on speedup violations and health and safety violations in those sections of the industry with little or no stockpiles—where the product demand exists.

3) The UAW should take the lead in organizing a national, one day demonstration strike of all working people, to demonstrate the true power of working people to both the corporations and the government. The purpose is to back up our demands and to let them know that they can't get away with making us pay for their economic crisis.

4) The UAW should take the lead in calling together labor organizations, civil rights organizations, community organizations, women's organizations and other organizations of the working class and the oppressed for the formation of a new political party—Independent of big business interests, dedicated to defending the needs of working people and the oppressed, and committed to full employment at a decent, inflation-proof wage.



Here's How It Works

There are two ways to call a special convention. The campaign proposed in **Network** covers both of them.

1) **By a 2/3 vote of the UAW International Executive Board.** This campaign started May 23, when the UNC presented the proposal to the IEB meeting in Detroit. All further activity at the local level will put pressure for the IEB to act.

2) **By referendum vote initiated on the request of Local Unions to the IEB.** The Requests must:

- a) be in writing;
- b) be from Locals in at least 5 states or provinces (Canada);
- c) be from at least 15 locals;
- d) be from Locals representing at least 20% of the membership as reported at the June, 1974 Convention—i.e. representing approximately 300,000.

Resolutions passed at the general membership meetings can instruct the Local to make such a request. The petitions pave the way for resolutions and also for winning a vote on the special convention. Together, both petitions and resolutions put pressure



on the IEB to call the convention the easy way. If method 2) is carried out, the IEB must conduct a referendum on the question anyway.

• It is important—so that Woodcock won't weasel out of it—that resolutions from the Locals have approximately the same wording. Since each special convention deals only with the issues it was called for, we have to make it clear that we are all talking about the same thing. The wording must also include the proposed date and place (Detroit), and a timetable for when referendum ballots are to be mailed to the Locals by the IEB and returned by the Locals.

Therefore, **Network** urges everyone who will be working on the campaign for a special convention to **adopt or closely follow the text of the UNC petitions** when they introduce resolutions or petitions of their own. They will be written in a fashion to appeal to the vast majority of UAW members, whether or not they are supporters of the Woodcock administration or the UNC. The resolution, not available at the time of our printing, can be gotten from UNC, P.O. Box 3821, Centerline, MI, 48015.

• What about the numbers involved? Can we do it? The bureaucrats have made it difficult. But it is more than possible. Look at this: **Network** itself already has correspondents in more than the required 5 states and 15 locals. As for the 300,000, all that would be needed is the larger locals in GM and Chrysler—where people desperately need a special convention—in Michigan, Ohio, California, Missouri, and Ontario. Of course, the big idea is not just to get a referendum vote, but to win it and make the convention take care of business. So our main task is to get the word out across the nation and Canada—to Ford, AMC, Harvester, GE, Budd and all the rest in every state.



Rip-Offs Mount-- First SUB, Now Short Week Benefits

1:30 PM. Two hours til quitting time. Parts shortage. What happens next? (Check one.)

☐ You sit around. Then the foreman gets you cleaning up. Finally, as a last resort, you get sent home with pay.

☐ Bam! Home. No pay for it.

Chrysler Mound Road Engine workers in Detroit are checking the second box these days. Why?

Network revealed (Issue #2) how SUB was nowhere near the "Guaranteed Annual Wage" it was advertised as. Now, it turns out, **there is no guaranteed 8 hours pay.**

Can it happen to you? Yes, it can.

Here's the gimmick. In the 1970 contract, Automatic Short Week benefits (equal to 80% of lost time at Chrysler and 85% at GM) were paid from the SUB fund. This is a special fund set aside with trustees and everything, separate from the companies' own piggy banks. When the SUB fund runs out—meaning it drops below \$18 a head, SUB was cut off and so were short week benefits.

In the 1973 contract, the UAW supposedly improved this. We will refer to the GM Supplemental Agreement Covering Supple-

mental Unemployment Benefit Plan—Exhibit C to Agreement between General Motors Corporation and UAW dated November 19, 1973. Art. VII, sec. 5 (c)(2) states that when the amount of money in the SUB fund falls below maximum (\$495) per person, every month, GM must reimburse the SUB fund out of its general treasury, money paid out of the fund for Automatic Short Work Week benefits, when these benefits are paid for **Scheduled Short Work Weeks**.

The intention of this section is clear. The corporations have committed themselves to paying short work week benefits out of their general funds. In fact, Art. II, Sec (5) (a & b) make clear that Automatic Short Work Week benefits for **Scheduled Short Work Weeks** are exempt from the 20% reduction applied to other benefits when the SUB fund is low, and are exempt from bankruptcy when the fund does go below \$18 per head.

THE MAGIC WORD

What's the catch? Why is it that Short Work Week Benefits are not being paid at Chrysler and GM now that the funds are bankrupt? The answer is the interpretation the companies are giving to one word: **"SCHEDULED."**

The "Agreement" gives a definition in Art VII Sec (5) (e): "For purposes of the plan, a Scheduled Short Work Week with respect to an Employee is a Short Work Week which Management schedules in order to reduce the production of the plant, department, or other unit in which the Employee works, to a level below the level at which the production of such Plant, department or unit would be for the Week were it not a Short Work Week, but only where such reduction of production is for the purpose of adjusting production to customer demand."

Clear as mud, isn't it? Adjusting production to customer demand means, in simple English, building less cars because less people want to buy cars. That is what is going on today. That is what the Scheduled Short Work Week is supposed to deal with.

Instead, when management wants to send people home, they create breakdowns, parts shortages, anything else they can dream up to wriggle out of Automatic Short Work Week

Payments. They will try to claim that every Short Work Week is due to some big surprise somewhere or other.

MEMBERSHIP ACTION

Members of the United Coalition from Chrysler Mound Road Engine (Local 51) put forward the following in a leaflet distributed at their plant:

"The United Coalition has a program of action that we feel should be implemented immediately.

"(1) Any break down that occurs and workers are to be sent home should be investigated immediately by the union to make sure that (a) the break down is not due to the fact that preventative maintenance work was not done; and (b) there is adequate skilled help available.

"(2) Rather than sending employees home—those that wish other work should be re-assigned to other duties; for example, correcting the many health and safety conditions.

"(3) Make sure management is not doing what it is now doing in Dept. 72—sending many employees home just because things are slow, while keeping others for the purpose of banking work for the next shift. This is abuse."

If the short week rip-off hits your plant, there is something you can do. Any employee who does not get paid can file an application (available from the boss) called a Determination of Automatic Short Week Benefit. If he is turned down, he may file appeal. This goes to a joint union-management committee in the local.

That's just the red tape, the main thing is to make a stink. We stand on good ground. Every other page of the contract tells how management has the exclusive power to do everything; they say who works, when they work, how much and so on. They run a tight ship. **They must be made to prove that a cut in the normal work week wasn't scheduled by them.**

This is a fine example of how the contract really works. Not as a legal document like a business contract. But like a **truce in the middle of war**. What the words mean is as much or as little as we make them mean.

Dave McCullough, Local 869

Medical Benefits-- Yet Another Rip-Off

Hidden in the 1973 "Historic Agreement" is a change in the way medical coverage is figured for laid-off people. The old plan was supposed to be in effect until October of this year, 1975.

4-6	6
6-8	8
8-10	10
10-up	12

OLD PLAN

Weeks of SUB You Are Eligible For	Months of Medical You Get
Less than 4	0
4-7	1
8-11	2
12-15	3
16-19	4
20-23	5
24-27	6
28-31	7
32-35	8
36-39	9
40-43	10
44-47	11
48-52	12

According to the 1973 contract, anybody laid off after October, 1975, is covered by a new plan.

NEW PLAN

Years of Seniority	Months of Medical
Less than 1	0
1-2	2
2-4	4

In the '73 contract, you were entitled to whichever plan gave you more benefits.

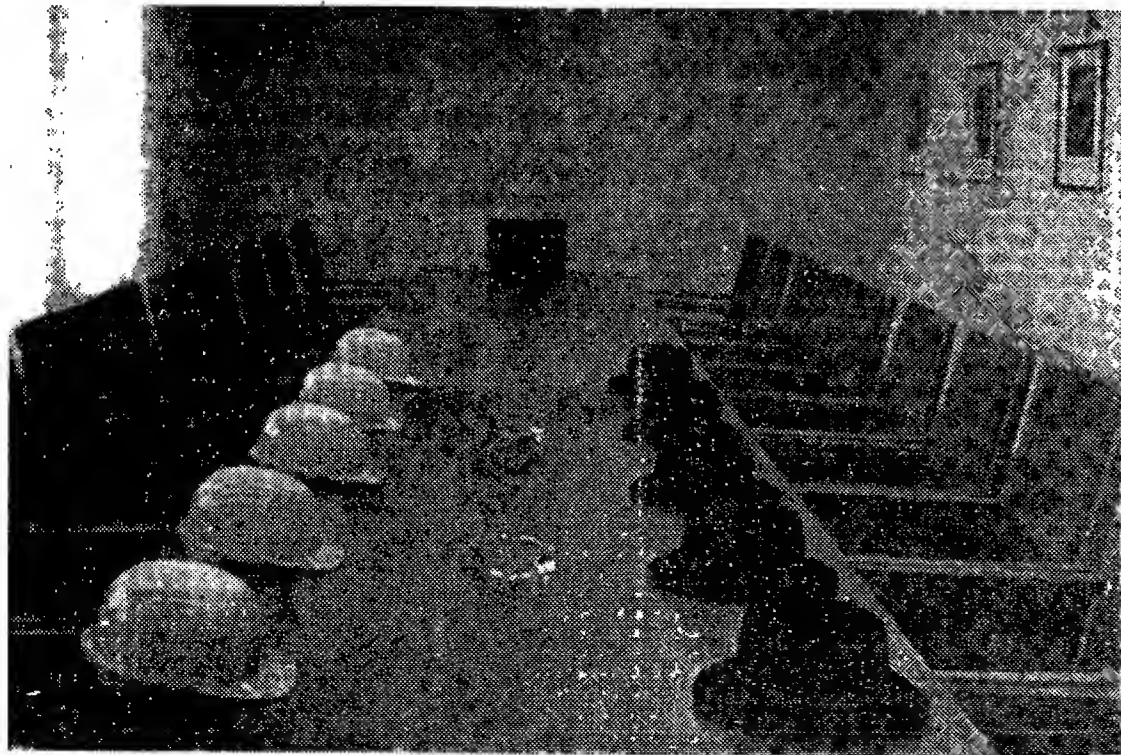
Here's the big "BUT": in March, GM negotiated a new deal with the UAW. They reopened the contract to move the October date for the new plan up to last March. Then they abolished the choice between the plans.

So, if you get laid off **after** March, 1975, your medical benefits are determined only on the basis of seniority. For example, if you had less than two years seniority, you'd get only two months medical—while under the old plan you might have been covered for up to a full year.

This proves that there is nothing iron-clad about the contract. They can reopen it to screw you. How about reopening it to aid the thousands of unemployed?



WHICH SIDE ARE THEY ON?



by Doug Stevens
for Linden Auto Workers [LAW]

LINDEN, N.J. — With Solidarity House announcing daily how much it is doing to help the unemployed, and local and regional headquarters giving lip service to the problems of laid-off members, let's look at how the UAW heads really feel about the rank and file.

In Linden, on Dec. 2, 1973, the Local and International "leadership" came to the members with a contract offer. The members were bribed into ratifying the contract because they were told that 1) If they voted "yes", they would get all retroactive pay from Sept. 14 on before Christmas, and 2) If they voted "no", they would be on strike for Christmas.

The members ratified the agreement without knowing what was in it. Neither the International nor the Local "leaders" breathed a word about layoffs, but they knew full well they were coming. The proof is that the International and GM "agreed" in the new contract to deduct union dues from SUB payments to laid-off employees.

NEW CONTRACT—MASSIVE LAYOFFS

The Linden plant reopened after Christmas shutdown on Jan. 2. Second shift employees reported to work—only to be told that on Jan. 4 the second shift was being eliminated.

The company officials were callous when asked about the extent or duration of the layoffs. They simply stated, "You got a vacation. Don't complain." Or, "It's only temporary. Enjoy it." The union officials were probably more sympathetic, but we don't know because you couldn't find one anywhere in the plant.

On Jan. 4, 1974, 2600 members of Local 595 were laid off, without so much as a whimper from the union hall. The President of the Local, Earl Stutzman, said: "There is nothing we can do. The public just isn't buying our cars."

DUES RUN-AROUND

Under the new contract, dues would be subtracted from SUB payments, so the union wasn't worried. Then the Local found out that in order to get the SUB dues, each member would have to sign a new "dues authorization card" giving the company the authority to take the money out of the check. This was indeed a problem, for it was difficult if not dangerous for the do-nothing "leadership" to go to laid-off members and ask them to pay dues to the Local.

As a resolution of the problem, the Local ended up with a little more than 500 of the total 2600 signing cards.

FALSE ASSURANCES FROM THE LOCAL

All through the year 1974, there were no problems of any members being denied the status of "member in good standing." However, in Dec. 1974 the laid-off members had exhausted their SUB payments, so the issue of dues came up again. In September and again in December, 1974, members asked the financial secretary of the Local what they should do about dues payments when the SUB stopped. The reply was, "Don't worry about it."

We checked the UAW Constitution. It said: A member is entitled to out-of-work receipts for a period of six months from the month in which you last paid dues. In order to maintain good standing membership you are required, ten days before the expiration of the six-month period to certify in writing to the Local financial secretary by registered letter, certified mail or in person, that you continue to be eligible for good standing membership. If a member does certify as provided during the last ten days of the six-month period, he or she shall continue to be eligible for out-of-work receipts for each additional month, if during the last ten days of such month he or she similarly certifies. (Art. 16, Sec. 20.)

OUR UNION MEMBERSHIP DENIED

In Feb. 1975, a number of laid off members were told by President Stutzman and Financial Secretary Leonard Schaefer to leave the union hall because they were not members. This action by the "leadership" prompted the Linden Auto Workers to do a number of things. First, we requested a meeting with Martin Gerber, the Regional Director of Region 9. At this meeting we explained what had happened at the union hall, and that most of the members who were told to leave had paid union dues up to and including Jan., 1975.

We also pointed out that we intended to run in the upcoming elections for union office and to vote, and wanted to know if we were, or were not, members in good standing. Gerber replied, "Don't worry. Nobody will be denied the right to run or vote in any election, unless they have been asked to pay dues and refused to do so."

Following this meeting with the Regional Director, we prepared form letters to be sent to

[Continued on page 46]

LOCAL 6 RANKS AGAINST FIRE-

by Jack Weinberg, based on information from Ted Dibble, member of Local 6 Civil Rights Defense Committee.

On Easter Sunday, a home in the suburb of Broadview, west of Chicago was badly damaged by a firebomb. This home had been purchased earlier in the year by C.B. Dennis, a black autoworker, member of UAW Local 6, International Harvester, Melrose Park, Illinois.

Broadview is practically an all-white community. Only 4% of the population is black, and all the black families in Broadview live in a small section bordering on the predominantly black suburb of Maywood. The house purchased by the Dennis family was six blocks away from this area. In recent years it has become increasingly hard for black families to find good housing within easy commuting distance from the Melrose Park plant.

A short while after the first firebombing, there was a second firebombing. Both times the Dennis family went to the Broadview Chief of Police. Both times they were told not to worry and urged not to cause any publicity. On April 11, Norm Roth, Local 6 President called the Chief of Police and asked what was being done to protect the home. That night, the house was fire-bombed a third time.

In all, there has been \$20,000 to \$30,000 damage. So far, this has been covered by the insurance of the old owners. The Dennis family have refused to be intimidated, and have been rebuilding the house.

After the third attack, they decided to no longer follow the advice of the Police Chief and

keep quiet. Instead, they called a press conference and went on TV with their story.

ACTION BY MEMBERS OF LOCAL

Two days later, April 13, rank and file members of Local 6 put a motion to the membership meeting to defend the house. The motion passed despite efforts by some of the local officials to get the motion defeated. These officials argued that if the Local agreed to help protect the house, it could be held legally responsible if anyone got hurt. That night, Local 6 members started taking shifts at the house.

At a meeting of 30 local members called to organize the defense, an 11-person volunteer steering committee was set up to oversee guarding the house. This was done, despite objections from Roth, who insists that this is not an official committee of the Local. When a leaflet was put out to the plant calling for volunteers, signed Civil Rights Defense Committee of Local 6, Roth objected. He now requires the committee to use the awkward name, Volunteer Civil Rights Committee of Members of Local 6.

Despite these obstacles, over 100 Local members, black and white, have participated in the defense. Other UAW Locals have passed motions of support and have sent people out. So has the Westside Coalition, a black community organization. So far, the defense has been effective, although the police have been less than cooperative.

A Broadview block club, headed by a Committeeman from another UAW Local gathered 300 signatures on a petition demanding the guards be removed from the house. This was turned down by City Council, but

DEFEND HOME BOMB ATTACKS

following the meeting, an angry group came by the house hurling insults and racist curses at the guards. The police observed, but did nothing.

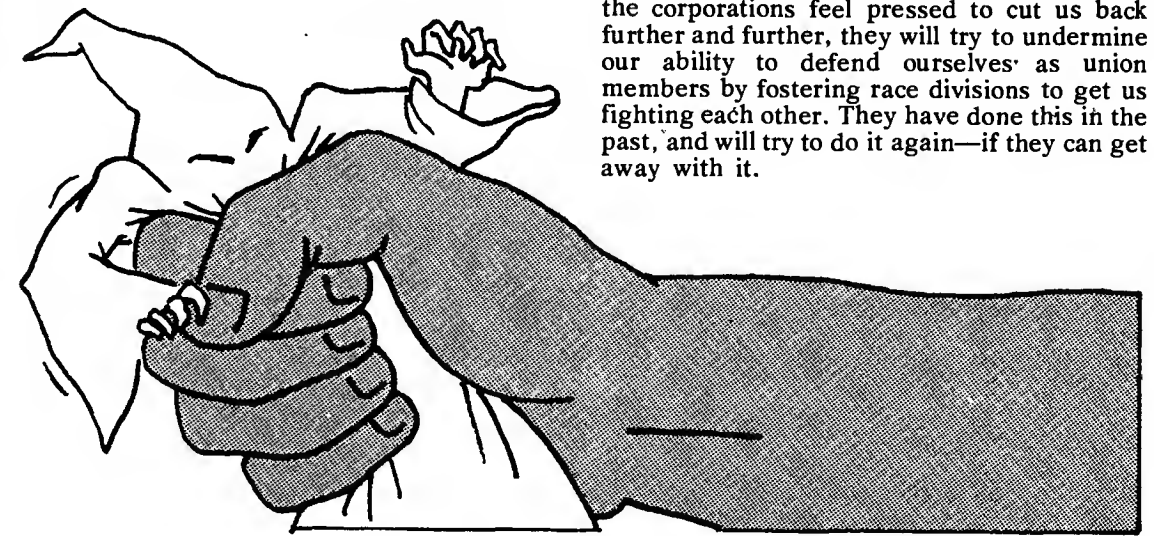
UAW RESOURCES MUST BE USED TO FIGHT RACISM

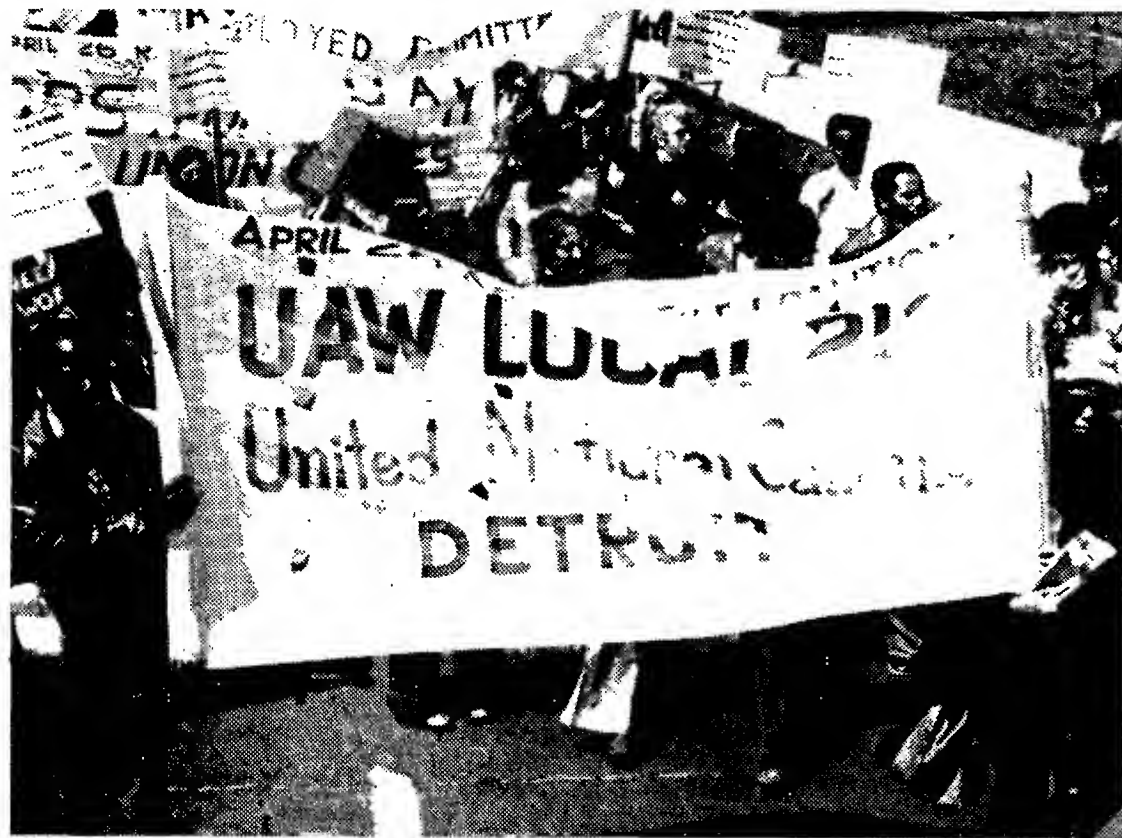
The actions of rank and file people from Local 6 shows how racism should be fought in this society. It is a disgrace that it has been impossible to utilize the **official structure of the UAW**, the Chicago area CAP council and every other resource the UAW has at its disposal to go into that community, to line up support from the more liberal-minded elements, and to **intimidate the racists**. Every roadblock put up by liberal Norm Roth, or by the loyal Woodcock supporters, to keep this defense effort from

being an official UAW function, strengthens the hands of the racists.

It should be policy that every racist attack is an attack on the union—which the UAW will respond to in an organized and forceful way. An atmosphere must be created in the plants and in the union to win the entire membership to this view. Otherwise—sooner or later—racial conflict and racial divisions, fostered by the companies, will break out on the shop floor and in our locals, and will be used to destroy the UAW and to beat down all workers, white and black.

Our experiences on the shop floor teach us, white and black, that we have to stick together if we want to defend ourselves from our common boss. We need a UAW leadership that can build on this positive experience. Otherwise, as economic hard times get worse, and as the corporations feel pressed to cut us back further and further, they will try to undermine our ability to defend ourselves as union members by fostering race divisions to get us fighting each other. They have done this in the past, and will try to do it again—if they can get away with it.





Growth of The United National Caucus

by Mark Levitan, Local 3

The late 1960s were years of social turmoil. The world was changing rapidly as the American system of global domination began to fall apart. The post-war years of uninterrupted prosperity, rising standards of living, class peace and political passivity came to an end.

In the auto industry and in the UAW these conditions gave birth to two separate rank and file movements. One composed of black production workers, the other a movement of skilled tradesmen. Each was a response to the changing world. Each ripped to shreds the old myths of the "apathetic middle-class" workers.

This article will trace the origins, development, transformation and prospects of one of those movements; the skilled trades rebellion which gave rise to the United National Caucus (UNC), the only existing opposition to the UAW administration.

TO BEAT INFLATION— DOLLAR AN HOUR NOW

The UNC grew out of the struggles of skilled tradesmen to keep pace with the Vietnam war inflation. The movement was organized in the Dollar an Hour Now committee. Its program didn't ask for much. Still it was more than the UAW leadership could deliver. The Dollar an Hour Now committee demanded an across the board \$1 an hour pay hike for all UAW skilled tradesmen, union control of sub-contracting, and clear lines of craft demarcation. The committee pressed its demands through the 1967 contract round.

The demand for "\$1 now" swept the UAW. Where once UAW skilled trades were among the highest paid of craftsmen they had fallen way behind other workers with similar skills in the craft unions. 1967 was the year that skilled tradesmen were determined to catch up.

DEMONSTRATION

During the Ford negotiations skilled tradesmen kept up their pressure.

Chris Manning, President of Local 160 (GM Tech Center) and chairman of the committee, stated, "The UAW is a union of pressure and we intend to keep the pressure on." They did. In June of 1967, 6,000 skilled tradesmen under the leadership of the committee demonstrated on the front lawn of Ford World headquarters in Dearborn Michigan.

NO TO 1967 CONTRACT

The UAW leadership knew it had to come across with something to quiet this anger. When negotiations closed, Walter Reuther announced a 50c hourly wage increase for the skilled trades and 30c for production. This settlement satisfied the majority of elected officials in the skilled trades. But a minority of the leadership of the Dollar an Hour movement held out. Chris Manning and Pete Kelly of Local 160 and Art Fox of Local 600, along with others, purchased TV time and urged UAW members to vote the contract down.

In their TV show, they hammered away at the serious flaw in the '67 agreement: in order to win the wage increase (small as it was), Reuther agreed to trade away something far more valuable. He agreed to a 17c an hour cap on the cost of living allowance (COLA). This meant that when, over the life of the contract, COLA reached the 17c an hour figure, there would be no further COLA increases—no matter how high inflation went.

There were two arguments for voting the contract down: 1) inflation would soar between 1967 and 1970, meaning the cap would cost auto workers a great deal; and 2) the cap would not apply just to the 1967 contract, but to all future contracts unless a fight were made to remove it.

But the Reuther machine argued that inflation would be no serious problem in the years to come, argued that the opposition didn't know what they were talking about, and the contract was ratified.

OPPOSITION UNITES—UNC

It was at that point that the UNC was formed. It was clear that skilled tradesmen alone could not change the UAW. It would take a movement throughout the union, skilled and production. The goal of the UNC was to become such a movement.

In the next few years, the UNC's reputation grew. Contrary to Reuther's promises, inflation **did** become a problem. It cost the average auto worker \$1400 over the life of the '67 agreement. The UAW leadership was forced to admit they had been wrong when they allowed the cap to be put on our COLA, and they vowed to remove it. In 1970, it required an 8-week strike at General Motors just to get back full cost of living.



United National Caucus Co-Chairman Jordan Sims

BLACKS, PRODUCTION WORKERS KEY

Beginning as an organization of tradesmen, the UNC had attempted to build its base among production workers. Its organized opposition to the 1970 and 1973 contracts showed production workers that it was the only group willing to fight against the contract because it hurt both production and skilled. In February, 1972, the UNC sponsored a conference on racism. The purpose was to open up discussion between white and black UAW members to the fact that racism hurts us all, and the need to oppose all forms of racism: in shops, in the community and in the union.

The ability of the UNC to attract black production workers was seen at that conference. Jordan Sims, a militant leader of the fight for better health and safety conditions at Eldon Gear and Axle was elected co-chairman of the UNC along with Pete Kelly.

STRUGGLE MOVES TO THE SHOP FLOOR

In the years 1972-73, the greatest efforts of the UNC were focussed around problems of in-plant conditions, such as speedup and health and safety. Particular effort was made to organize the union against the speedup campaign being pioneered by General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD). The Caucus came to the aid of the strikes at GMAD's Norwood Ohio plant who were being set up by the International Union for a major defeat following a six-month strike over plant conditions.

But the strike was broken and the speedup spread.

In February 1973 the UNC held a Production Workers Conference. The Conference addressed itself to the speedup and productivity drives. It brought workers together from Norwood, New Jersey, St. Louis and other places to organize a fight against speedup.

In May 1973 the UNC had a significant victory. Jordan Sims, although fired from Eldon in 1970 was elected President of Local 961.

REACHES OUT TO GRASS ROOTS

By the time the 1974 Constitutional Convention delegate elections came around, the UNC was able in several locals to put forward slates based in production. Few of these production-based "Dump Woodcock" slates were elected, but the UNC had begun establishing its presence in production. At the Convention UNC delegates led the fight against the three-year term—and would have won the vote if democratic procedures had been in force. Following the Convention the UNC led a fight in many locals to reject the three-year term for in-plant representatives.

Since the massive layoffs, the influence and support of the UNC has grown. Through the Unemployed Committee, the UNC has fought for: organizing the unorganized; the demand that SUB be guaranteed by full corporate assets; the demand for a shorter work week at full pay; and for the UAW to take the lead in organizing a one-day demonstration strike of all workers to demand jobs.

VOICE OF THE RANK AND FILE

The UNC is the only group inside the UAW that openly fights for a total change of union policy, so the union can truly serve the needs of the membership. It is the only group that fights for the need to construct a new UAW leadership, top to bottom, based on the rank and file orientation, to put this new policy into effect.

Over the years, the UNC has established a reputation for telling the truth, understanding the problems of the UAW membership, and a program for changing the union. In the next few years as discontent in the ranks will grow, the UNC promises to become a real force inside the union.

FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

The UNC also gained support for leading the fight at the 1968 UAW Constitutional Convention for electing all UAW officials by referendum vote. There were several debates over the demand that the top UAW officials be elected by vote of the entire membership, regional officials be elected by the membership of their regions, and service representatives by the membership of the locals they serviced.

Since 1968 the UNC has run candidates against the top UAW leadership at every Constitutional Convention—and have been the only group to do so. The UNC organized opposition to both the 1970 and 1973 national agreements, based on the fact that neither agreement served the needs of the rank and file. In 1973, the UNC was influential in organizing the contract rejection by Ford skilled tradesmen.

FOR A LABOR PARTY

The UNC's activities have not only been directed at UAW internal affairs but also at government policy that affects UAW members. In August 1971, when Nixon first announced the wage freeze, the UNC was quick to demand UAW opposition. When the leadership failed to do so, the UNC participated in an anti-freeze demonstration. When Nixon announced his wage control board, the UNC demanded the

UAW not participate and then demonstrated with the demand that Leonard Woodcock get off the board set up by Nixon, to hold down working people's wages. After the damage had already been done, Woodcock finally resigned from the board. Again too late, they had to admit the UNC had been right.

It was at this point the UNC understood we could no longer consider the Democrats the "friends of labor." After all, it had been the Democratic Congress that had passed wage controls. So the UNC began to call for a labor party.

TIME TO UNITE IS NOW

New opportunities will put the Caucus to a test. It is presently beginning to build a campaign demanding the International UAW Executive Board organize an emergency convention to develop a program to guarantee SUB, end the layoffs and achieve full employment. If properly organized, this campaign can pull together militants from all over the union. It can set the stage for an effective coalition for a decent contract in '76.

The United National Caucus should be able to pass this important test. But it will take a real effort from all sincere militants in the union. The opportunity is there. The time has come to unite and make this opportunity a reality.

SUPPORT — JOIN — BUILD THE UNITED NATIONAL CAUCUS

I would like to join the United National Caucus. Enclosed is \$6 yearly membership dues.
I would like more information about the United National Caucus.
I would like a copy of "What is the United National Caucus?" One copy free. Multiple copies 10 for \$1.

Name.....

Address.....City.....State.....Zip.....

Local.....Phone.....Union office (if any).....

Send to: The United National Caucus, PO Box 3821, Centerline, MI 48015.

SOLIDARITY

A Look At Our UAW Newspaper

"Solidarity" (the voice of our professional bureaucrats) consistent with its philosophy of disorganize the organized, has finally got a plan of action. No we ain't going to Washington for a mass demonstration—not after their man, Hubert "The Hump" was put in his place April 26. Their line in "Solidarity" is clear: workers of the world go home and write those letters to their friends in Congress.

The UAW newspaper, now misnamed "Solidarity", at one time (or so I heard) was not the jive rag we are paying for today. It had a purpose. It used to be an honest, informative newspaper of struggle. It was a means of informing the union membership that their struggle was not alone. Then, of course, the UAW played a lead in that struggle.

The UAW was born in struggle, uniting its membership into a mean machine, ready to fight as one against the bad and nasty profit monster eating our flesh. Our newspaper then

didn't throw in ads selling medals of phony heros instead of a report on the April 26 demonstration in Washington (check out the May issue). Nor did it or could it afford space for all the trivia on sewing, hobbies and stories on "how I lived happily ever after" (retirement).

The multiple photographs of pork chops and politicians speak for themselves. How many hours go into photographing and reproducing shots of Leonard W. doing his famous 10 minute picket duty number. After all, he does have to be on time to bullshit with "Nobel Laureate Wassily Leontif" author Robert Heilbroner and none other than John Kenneth Galbraith and BANKER Robert V. Roosa. Together, they make up the "Initiative Committee for National Economic Planning" organized by our beloved President to set a course to make everyone happy. Well, they ain't the only strange navigators around Washington trying to whisper in "Dummy" Jerry's ear. Our man, Lenny, being the responsible person he is, wouldn't think of doing anything rash without a chat with his friends.

"Solidarity" reflects the UAW organization as it is today. It is a reflection of everything that is wrong with this once fighting organization. The "Solidarity" newspaper will reflect the coming struggle, only if the rank and file begin to rebuild the union and replace the worn and junk parts that interfere with the justifiable efforts of workers to fight in our self interest.



Why is this man laughing?

RANK & FILER'S DO-IT-YOURSELF HANDBOOK

PUTTING OUT A LEAFLET

When you want to move a large group of people, leaflets can do an organizing job you can't always do by yourself. They get everyone thinking about the same thing at the same time.

Maybe you want to say something but don't know how to start. Here is a prescription for almost any leaflet. Just write down:

1. The problem.
2. The solution.
3. What you want people to do about it.

EXAMPLE

grabber—

WHY SHOULD WE DO ALL THE WORK?

the problem—

Here we are working 48—50 hours a week. Sure, we can use the bread. But with millions looking for work, it's not fair—to them or to us. One way or another, those who work end up supporting those who don't. Injustice is everybody's problem.

the solution—

We have to share the money—people have to survive. So let's share the work too. **JOBS FOR ALL. LESS WORK FOR EACH. That's justice.**

what to do—

If the boss asks you to work overtime, tell him to take it to someone who needs it. But he don't always ask. So, **come to the union meeting.** A motion will be presented to ban all overtime while people are laid off.

July 21, 12 noon. Sharp!

DON'T worry about being original or clever. The leaflets people like best are the ones that say what they are feeling, but haven't managed to say for themselves. DO lay it on the line. Nobody cares much about nice ideas. They want answers.



LOCAL 6 RANK & FILE COALITION

by Ted Dibble and Harry Putnam

MELROSE PARK, ILL.—Four months ago, many different elements in UAW Local 6, International Harvester, met to form a rank and file coalition. The group includes black, Latin, white and many women workers.

The major issue during the spring local elections and one which will continue through the months ahead, is speed up and layoffs. The

company has already laid off 100 workers this month, and rumor has it more will follow.

Harvester has claimed these layoffs are necessary because of the decline in sales of medium and small tractors. Yet with the first half of the year ended, International Harvester has reaped record profits. If sales are declining, why has the company initiated a speedup campaign?

To increase their profits even more, they have eliminated some of the day work to divide it among piece-work jobs, reclassified jobs to cut the rate, and have replaced safer but more

expensive methods with cheaper, more dangerous ones.

The present union leadership at Harvester, the Positive Action Leadership (PAL) have done little about the present speed up and layoffs. For a short time, in a few departments, the union leadership whispered to some workers that they might cooperate a little less with the company and that they didn't have to work all that overtime, something which the company had been pushing on the workers. Robert Stack, the head of the shop committee and part of the "Positive Action Leadership" never organized a fight against the worsening conditions in the shop. Stack and PAL do not want to offend the company or harm the profit rates.

In the spring election hundreds of workers demonstrated that they want to fight the company on the real issues of speedup and the layoffs. Although the Rank and File Coalition did not win any positions, it did show both its strength and the unwillingness of many of the workers to put up with a leadership that will not fight for them.

Of 2500 votes cast, the Coalition candidates polled from 400—900 votes each. This victory is extremely impressive given the fact that the Coalition is so new and its candidates are not well known.

Much of the support the Coalition gained was through its successful campaign earlier this spring for retaining the 2 year term for stewards and committeemen. The UAW International had passed a three-year term for all officers at the June 1974 Constitutional Convention.

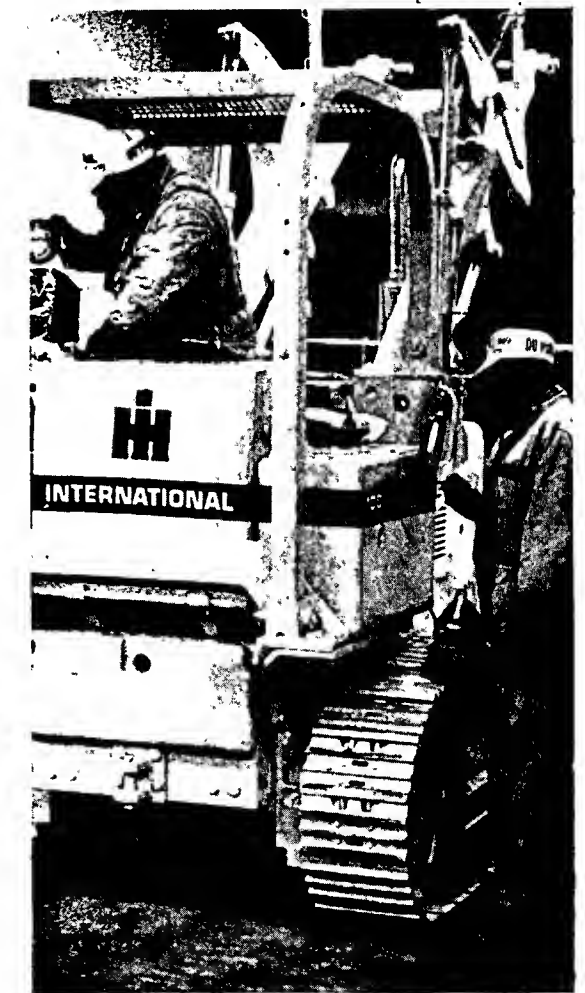
Robert Stack, the shop committee chairman, and the executive board, tried to sabotage this campaign, first by inventing a lie that the deadline for voting already passed and then by refusing to place the vote on the agenda—even though the Rank and File Coalition had collected and registered a petition of 500 signatures. Due to the mobilization efforts by the Coalition, 300 people did attend the union meeting, thus adding the item to the agenda. The vote was 3—1 for retaining the 2 year term.

The original purpose for organizing the Rank and File Coalition was to present a challenge to the Positive Action Leadership. However, the best militants around the Coalition understand that the Coalition must use this election as a

start to build an organization at International Harvester.

They understand that they must mobilize other workers to build a union of and for the rank and file, and to wage struggles on the shop floor to improve conditions in the plant.

Because the Rank and File Coalition is a coalition of forces within Local 6 and has broad appeal to the membership, it has attracted some who give only verbal support to the program, but fall short on action. Notable among such is Norm Roth, former Local 6 president. Because he gave verbal agreement to the coalition's program and has a following in the local, he became their candidate for shop chairman. But almost immediately he display-



ed his commitment. He attempted to also set up another slate with some running against Rank and Filers while remaining on the Rank and File ticket. The Coalition forced a quick end to that. But Roth's past makes the future clear. It was during Roth's term that the layoffs and speedup intensified. Over the past few years the International of the UAW has gone along with the attempts by the company to further erode working conditions. There has been an attack on the right to voluntary overtime. The International has not opposed this.

During his term as president of the local, Roth never attempted to organize on the shop floor to defeat these attacks. And more importantly, he never challenged the International UAW Leadership in its surrender to the company. Rather than organize a movement to challenge this leadership, Roth's main tactic has been accusing the shop committee of back-stabbing.

Militants in the Rank and File Coalition

recognize that only an effective slowdown by all workers will protect working conditions and prevent layoffs. Since International Harvester is on the piece-rate system we could work the minimum allowed under the contract, producing 33% less for only a 10% cut in wages. Clearly, the company, not the workers, have the most to lose from this.

If the union will not initiate a slow-down policy, the rank and file members can carry it out, beginning in the largest and best organized departments and spreading to all the others. Part of this campaign must be a ban on all overtime.

The next test for the Rank and File Coalition comes on June 11 when committeemen and stewards elections are scheduled. Before then the Coalition expects to consolidate the support gained in the first election and to gain even more support through the slowdown campaign. The Rank and File Coalition is showing the potential strength of an active, organized rank and file.

CADDY WORKERS TAKE A BREAK —UNOFFICIALLY

In a production department at Cadillac Motors, 19 people worked 4¼ hours without a personal break because all the relief men were tied up. When the 19 returned from lunch, three of them refused to work, and the production line had to be stopped. Management put another worker on one of the jobs and tried to discipline a woman who was involved in the stoppage. In response, more workers sat down and demanded that she be brought back to the job without penalty. After sensing the anger of the workers, the bosses decided not to risk a walkout. The woman was returned to the job by management and most of the 19 workers received two personal breaks after lunch. The committeeman, as usual, could not be found before lunch although many workers had placed official calls for him. After the stoppage however, he stayed around to tell us never to do anything like that again. We learned, however, that collective action can correct a problem that griping won't.



THE WINDS OF CHANGE ARE BLOWING Outlook for the Next Three Years

Mike Buckley & Jack Weinberg



Most UAW locals are just getting over the elections. This year, for the first time there was a new type of candidate, a new type of slate running in several locals. Often they were associated with the United National Caucus. Often the candidates were young and had only a few years of union experience. But what these slates had in common was a fighting, rank and file oriented program for change in the entire UAW, top to bottom.

These candidates and campaigns were the first small wave of a flood that will be sweeping the UAW in the years to come. The next big round of Local elections will be Spring 1978—three years from now. By then, things in the UAW, in fact in the entire country, will be drastically different from now. We live in a time of rapid change. Rank and file militants can make great headway over the next three years if they can anticipate the events to come, and if they can stay on top of them.

THE ECONOMY

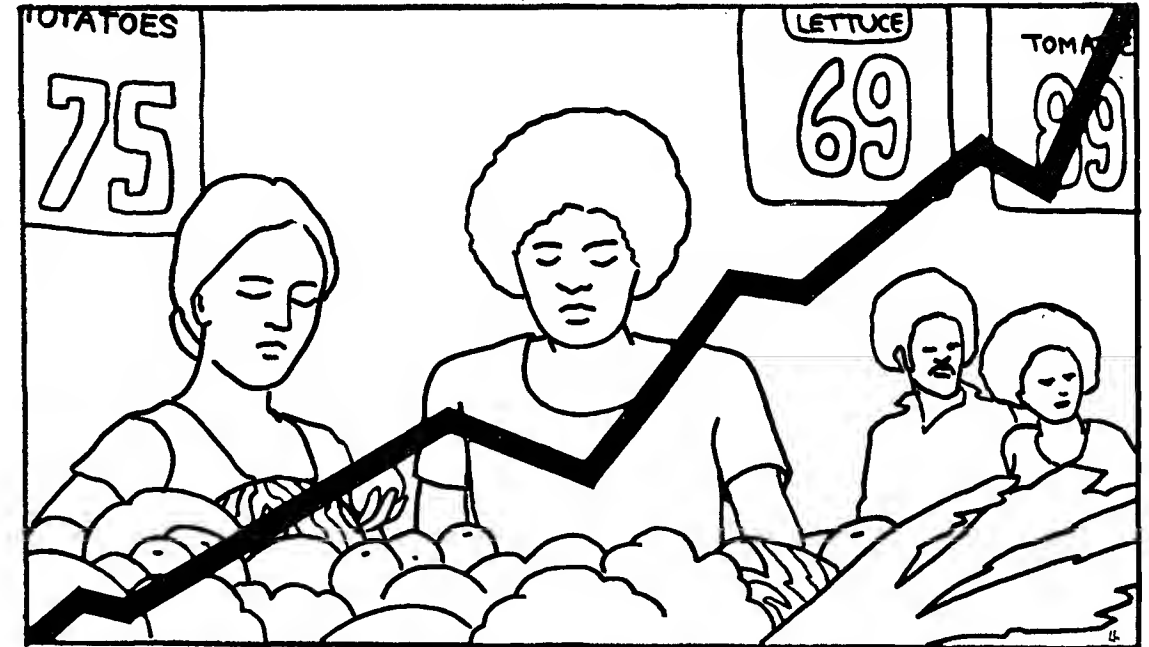
To begin with, we need an understanding of what is going on in the economy. President Ford and the Congress have made a political change to pull the economy out of the

depression between now and the presidential elections, November 1976. Besides the obvious political reasons, weaker firms, both in the US and internationally (like Chrysler) are crying that if the depression runs its course, they face the threat of bankruptcy.

For the time being, the stronger companies which at present prefer continuing the depression have lost out. These strong firms feel less threatened by the bankruptcy of their weaker competitors. They are very fearful of the dramatic new inflationary spiral that present economic recovery plans will trigger.

The means decided upon to reactivate the economy is massive deficit spending. Over the next two years a planned \$125 billion will be added to the US National Debt. This fantastic amount of money boggles the mind. The best way to get a handle on just how large this figure is, would be to compare it to the deficit spending used during the depression of the 1930's.

President Franklin Roosevelt, if people remember, pioneered the concept of deficit spending to reactivate the economy. In 1940, at the end of eight depression years of Roosevelt pump priming, the entire national debt was \$40 billion. In the next two years, Ford and Congress plan to increase the national debt by



Massive deficit spending won't end unemployment but will boost inflation over 15%

over three times that amount, which means big increases in both spending and credit in the economy.

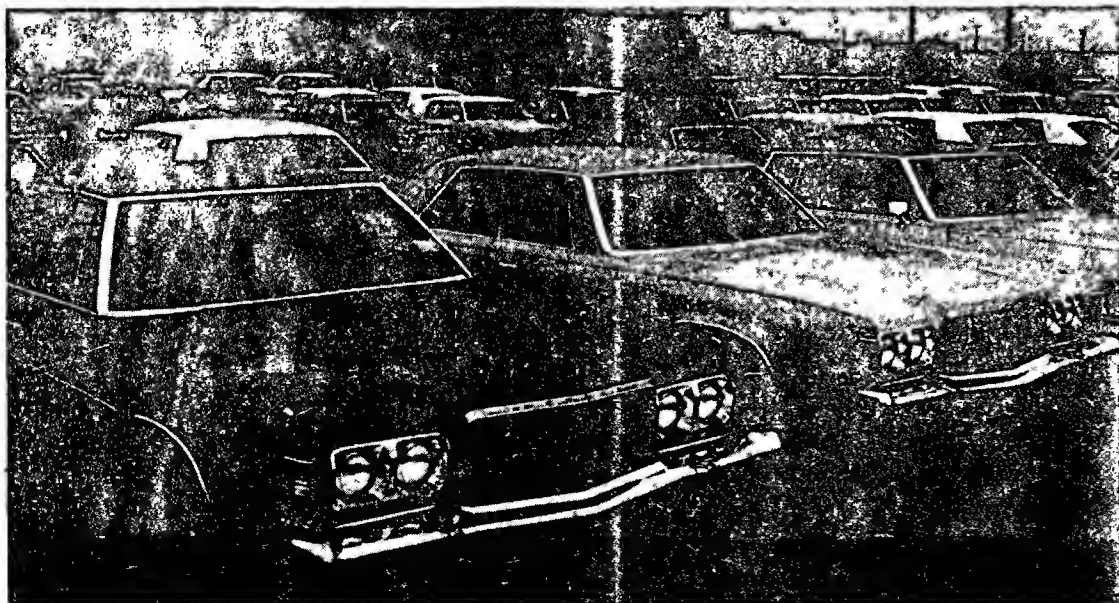
There will be a price paid for this recovery. By election time, 1976, the rate of inflation will be hitting the unheard of 15% to 20% range, as the government pumps credit into the economy. And substantial (though reduced) unemployment will still exist. When the Democrats take over in 1977, inflation rates will have become so intolerable, the business community will pressure them to take steps to bring it under control. But deflationary action will trigger a new depression. Unless they drag us into a major war by then, by 1978 we will be back to conditions of unemployment, as bad as, or worse than the present. These rapid changes in the economy, will have profound effect on our union.

THE NEXT YEAR

The biggest factor facing autoworkers in the immediate future will continue to be the present depression. Auto has been the industry hardest hit by layoffs (along with construction) and very few people have been called back. For

the next 6 to 9 months there will be a mix of gradual callbacks and new layoffs as sales begin to pick up and production is adjusted to the changing pattern of sales. The callbacks will be more gradual and less dramatic than the massive waves of layoffs of the past year. It seems likely that by this time next year at least 125,000 will have been called back out of the 225,000 laid off. Most of the remaining 100,000 will have dropped off the seniority lists by then. With fill-in jobs not available in this depression economy and SUB gone, every week people stay on the street means they are hurting worse.

More and more, the "nothing we can do" attitude of the union leadership will be seen by the membership for what it is. During this period, the large majority of UAW members will be willing to listen to new ideas and to consider them seriously, before they are willing to act on them. It will be during this time that the United National Caucus campaign for an emergency special UAW Convention discussed elsewhere in this issue of Network, will have a growing appeal. In most places, it will start with only small numbers actively involved—but it will get large numbers of



Weaker firms like Chrysler need quick government action to end the depression

UAW members talking and thinking about the issues. Most important, it will introduce people to a whole new approach to union questions—new for the present generation. In reality, it is the old "Fight the company" class struggle approach around which the UAW was originally organized in the last great depression, and around which it will have to be reorganized if it is to defend us in the hard times to come.

The people across the US and Canada who come forward in this campaign and who learn to communicate and work with one another will constitute the basic leadership of a movement that will be growing throughout the UAW in the years to come.

OVERTIME AND SPEED UP

On the local union level, overtime is already becoming an issue—management in plant after plant is scheduling extra hours rather than bringing people back. This trend will continue until organized resistance to it becomes so great as to stop the companies. At present, the UAW top leadership is discouraging organized resistance to overtime. Despite this, resolutions demanding a stop to all overtime have been passed in several locals. In fact, bitterness against overtime while there are layoffs have been so strong in several locals that the membership has forced the local to organize overtime protests—even in the face of discouragement from the International.

As the pickup continues, speed up will more and more become a growing concern. This together with tightening discipline, crack-downs on absenteeism, and harassment of members on sick leave will tend to lead to a deterioration of conditions to levels worse than anything that has been seen since the union was first organized. Resentment will, at first, grow much more quickly than organized resistance, as fear and insecurity continue to grip most of the membership. But as nerves wear thin, and as economic pickup raises the workers' spirits, there will be reactions and resistance. The same workers who can build up their reputation and contacts in their locals by the fight for a special convention—will have an opportunity to give leadership on a local level to resistance to the overtime and speedup.

As we move into 1976, the emergency unemployment situation will start receding into the background. More and more, the number

one issue will become the 1976 contract. In spring 1976, the UAW will hold a bargaining convention, probably in Detroit. This convention will mark the beginning of an all out rank and file fight over the contract.

THE 1976 CONTRACT

The companies will be pleading poverty, but their profits will be climbing fast. The government will be urging restraint. With

around SUB. They may have a surprise—the ranks will be demanding provisions barring layoffs and arranging for sharing work through a shorter work week at full pay. If any layoffs are permitted, full SUB pay must be guaranteed by the corporations' assets.

The companies will press for no wage increase and for an attack on COLA. Everyone knows our wages haven't kept up with prices. We will demand a big wage increase to put us

BARGAINING CONVENTION—SPRING 1976

Rank and file forces will have to begin organizing even before the spring 1976 bargaining convention. The delegates to this convention will be attending as lame ducks. These will be the same people who were elected in 1974—supposedly for a two year term—and supposedly to attend a Constitutional Convention and not



Already, some workers are being forced to work overtime...

while thousands wait in unemployment lines

insincere protests, the UAW leadership will want to go along. But the rank and file will have a different idea. We will have experienced the bankruptcy of the SUB and will be raising demands for adequate protection against layoffs during the life of the 1976 contract. This will be a desperate issue, because by 1978 massive layoffs will be back. At present the UAW leaders are promising the companies they will make no costly demands

ahead of inflation. With inflation continuing even in the depression, it will surely be speeding up in '76 and reach new heights of 15–20% by '77. We need full COLA protection for both wages and pensions or nobody will be able to afford retirement.

Finally, the ranks will be demanding some kind of relief from the speedup and harassment that they will have endured. In all, the contract expiration will be a tense period.

a Bargaining Convention. At the Constitutional convention, they extended the UAW term of office to three years—extending their own terms in the process. These people did not run on contract issues, and were not elected to represent us on contract issues. During the last two years, issues and sentiments in the UAW have changed. The delegates will be representing the union's past—not its pre-

sent and future.

A major mobilization of rank and file people to attend and observe this convention is a must. It will take rank and file pressure at every level and on every occasion to get any kind of decent contract.

PREPARE FOR A STRIKE

In 1976, we should be in a strong bargaining position—given the lucky accident that our contract will expire at the point when the economy will be at its high point. The companies will be making good profits for the first time in years, and probably for the last time in years. They won't want a strike; we will have to be able to threaten and produce one.

The outmoded strategy of striking only one company will have to be discredited and exposed. The auto companies don't even pretend to compete anymore. **The shortest and most effective strike, will be a shut down of the entire industry.** This will make sense to people. Most important, rank and file organization will be a possibility—preparing the ranks to turn down any contract that fails to meet our needs. With enough organization, the ranks may be able to force effective strike action. We will have an opportunity in 1976 that may not come again for ten years.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

The greater the expressions of rank and file dissatisfaction, the more this causes the top leadership to start fighting among themselves. It is possible that there will be a split in the top leadership in a power struggle for who will succeed Woodcock when he retires in 1977. Possibly they will work out some compromise and paste together the cracks that are already beginning to appear in the structure.

In either case, the rank and file will have a greater opportunity to have an effect on the 1977 Constitutional Convention than any previous UAW convention since Reuther tightened his grip in the 1950's.

Contract settlement will be followed almost immediately by the campaign for convention delegates. A strong rank and file campaign around the contract can set the stage for a real coordinated UNC campaign in the delegate elections. The contract fight will draw in new people, give local groups new experience and

respect, and provide links with other locals.

Rank and file delegates are not likely to be nearly strong enough to control the convention, but there should be a solid rank and file minority which will be in a position to make the Convention totally different than in the past. **Every discussion on policy and leadership will be influenced by the presence of a determined group of rank and file delegates and by all the delegates' knowledge that the membership is no longer willing to sit back and take whatever the leadership decides.**

1978 LOCAL ELECTIONS AND BEYOND

These discussions can be brought back into the locals by the rank and file groups. Arguing about these issues, showing once again why rank and file militant organization is important and how it makes a difference, will set the stage for the next round of local elections in early 1978. By that time as well the threat of layoffs and cutbacks will again be facing the membership, giving the militants another chance to show that only they, not the Woodcocks and Frasers can lead the union forward.

Beginning now we must take on the hard job of organizing dedicated, stable, consistent, local groups as part of a national movement in the UAW. If this is done, next time people will not file meekly out of the plants and into the unemployment lines. If this is done, rank and file militants will be winning their local elections.

Next time is our time if we do the job.

CHRONOLOGY

Next 9—12 months—gradual call-backs mixed with layoffs.

Spring, 1976—Bargaining contract.

September, 1976—Contract expiration in the Big 3.

November, 1976—National elections (for President and Congress).

Late Spring, 1977—UAW Constitutional Convention, election of International officers, Woodcock's retirement.

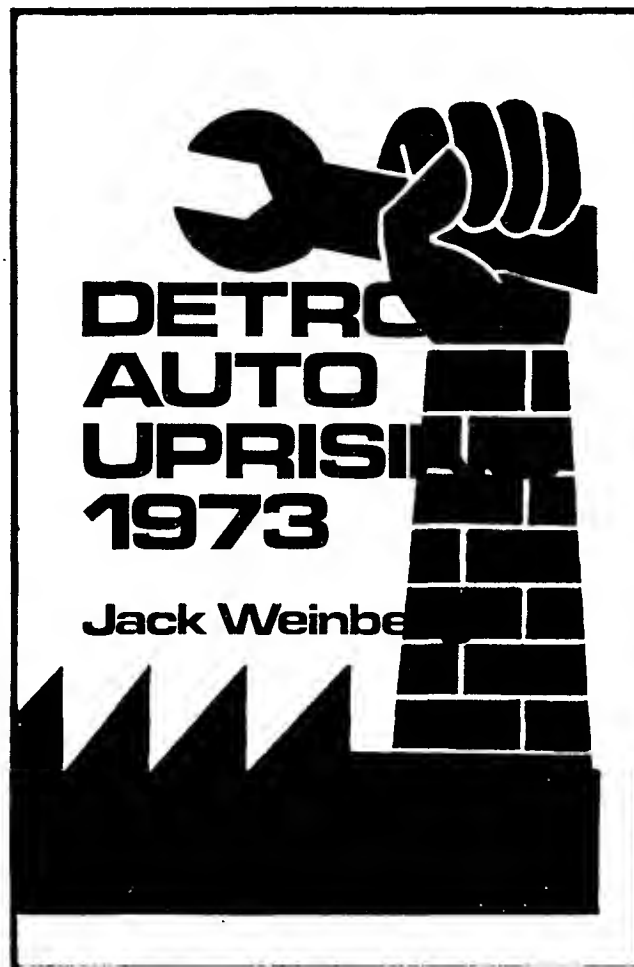
Spring 1978—Local elections.



In the summer of 1973 important strikes hit three of Chrysler's Detroit plants. One involved a sit-in that closed Jefferson Assembly. One was a wildcat at the Detroit Forge plant. And one was a strike at Mack Avenue Stamping that was broken by a 1000-person goon squad of UAW officials. This goon squad was the most vicious but by no means the only anti-union action by the UAW International leadership. No UAW member can afford to misunderstand the events of 1973.

This highly readable pamphlet by an active participant of the struggles describes what happened, points out the reasons and begins a discussion of what is necessary to change this. Order your copy now!

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LOCAL ELECTIONS

Local elections this year were marked by some important indications of the growing unrest among the membership. In local after local, with low seniority workers laid off and voting in extremely low numbers, incumbent or administration backed candidates did very poorly. The reasons for this, must be pretty clear. This is a lot of dissatisfaction with the current leadership's ability to produce any

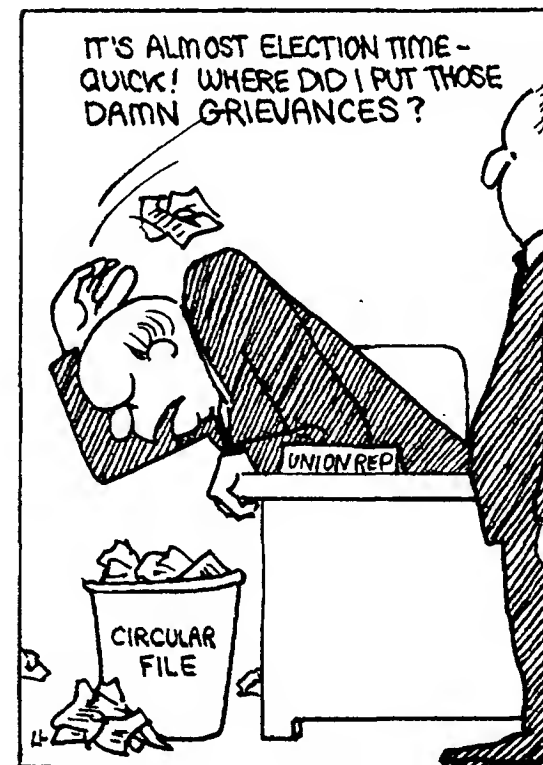
answer to the problems in the shops or unemployment lines. With each report of the industry's condition sounding worse than the previous one, UAW members want and need a leadership that will fight.

REAL CHOICES

What was different about this year's elections is that in an increased number of locals there was a clear choice, often for the first time in years. It was not a choice between two pro-International slates who differed for totally personal reasons. It was a choice in many cases between the administration and caucuses, slates or individuals who are openly dissatisfied with the International's policies and programs. In local after local incumbents were dropped. The political opposition fared well, often doing better than those who wished to take only a moderate position.

Naturally, most local elections had heavy turnouts from among the retirees. This year there was also a heavy turnout from those working as well. Some locals had the heaviest percentage of vote for some time. The key to the elections, though, was the layoffs. Unemployed members, although eligible to vote, came out in such small numbers in almost every case that their effect on the elections was not important. The vote received by administration candidates from the higher seniority workers, then, is even more indication of the growing dissatisfaction with the leadership.

A review of a few locals shows what is happening. At Local 15 (Fleetwood Fisher Body) Rufus Coleman outdrew incumbent Joe Gaston for President. There will be a runoff. At Local 51 (Chrysler Lynch Road Assembly and



Mound Road Engine there were three administration slates running. Even with this the United Coalition drew a slate vote of 10% with some doing better. The incumbent, Tony Janette, only barely outdrew Frank Falls, chairman of the shop committee and Mound Road. Tommy Hall, Lynch Road chairman did only slightly better than the United Coalition, pretty much finishing him in local politics.

In Detroit, at Chevy Gear and Axle (Local 235), incumbent president Robertson was dumped to his great surprise. the **Justice Committee**, running as the only real fighting alternative, pulled a good 10 to 18 per cent of the vote in their first time out.

At Local 122 (Chrysler Twinsburg, Ohio, Stamping) Bob Weissman, a former Local 122 president who was fired years ago, and never hired back, pulled more votes than incumbent William Harden. There will be a runoff between them. At Local 595 (GMAD, Linden, N.J.) long-time president Earl Stutzman retired. His candidate McKenna was defeated by Perez in the election. Laid off members—members of Linden Auto Workers (LAW)—

were not permitted to vote. Perez picked up much of the LAW program in an effort to gather strength.

At Local 600 (Ford Rouge) there were many upsets and 10 of the 11 Unit Chairmen who faced opposition lost or are in runoffs. Dave Mundy, Chairman of the Foundry Union who is perhaps best known for his shooting of a skilled tradesman who didn't like the 73 contract was defeated 3—1.

Jimmy Zurrullo was elected Chairman of the shop committee at Local 736 (GM Hyatt Roller Bearing, N.J.) defeating the incumbent. At Local 1250, (Ford, Brook Park, Ohio) John Kilo of the Unity Three Action Committee defeated incumbent Wayne Medders. In addition Royce White, who ran against Region 2 director Bill Cassstevens at the '74 Convention was elected second Vice President.

At Local 140, Dodge Truck, Steve Smith forced a runoff in his campaign for President. Smith led a wildcat strike there last summer.

A couple of locals in the Detroit area show a lot about what seems to be the general pattern in the UAW now.

Bill Parker, Local 51

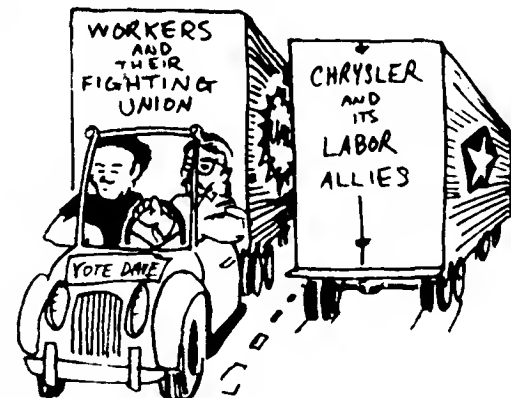
Local 869

Local 869 (Chrysler Warren Stamping) has long been one of the only Detroit area locals still dominated by the skilled trades. Production workers at Warren have so far not succeeded in pulling together a group on any basis to challenge the Administration/Hafner leadership in the local. This year the United National Caucus ran Dave McCullough against Hafner. Brother McCullough pulled just over

1/3 of the votes in the elections including 47—51% in non-skilled votes. This despite all the things going against him in the election—relatively unknown, labeled as a “commie kook.” McCullough has been out of the plant since Thanksgiving when Chrysler cut back production.

McCullough's campaign included the issues of a union fight to make the corporation pay instead of the workforce by scheduled short work weeks at full pay to bring back the entire plant work force, the need for unity based on defending the rights of all workers, an emergency UAW Convention, militant shop floor representation, and a labor party. Raising a militant program—the only sort that can begin to come to grips with the auto industry's problems—did not hurt McCullough's campaign. As he pointed out in his campaign material:

“WHY THERE IS NOBODY RUNNING IN THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD!”



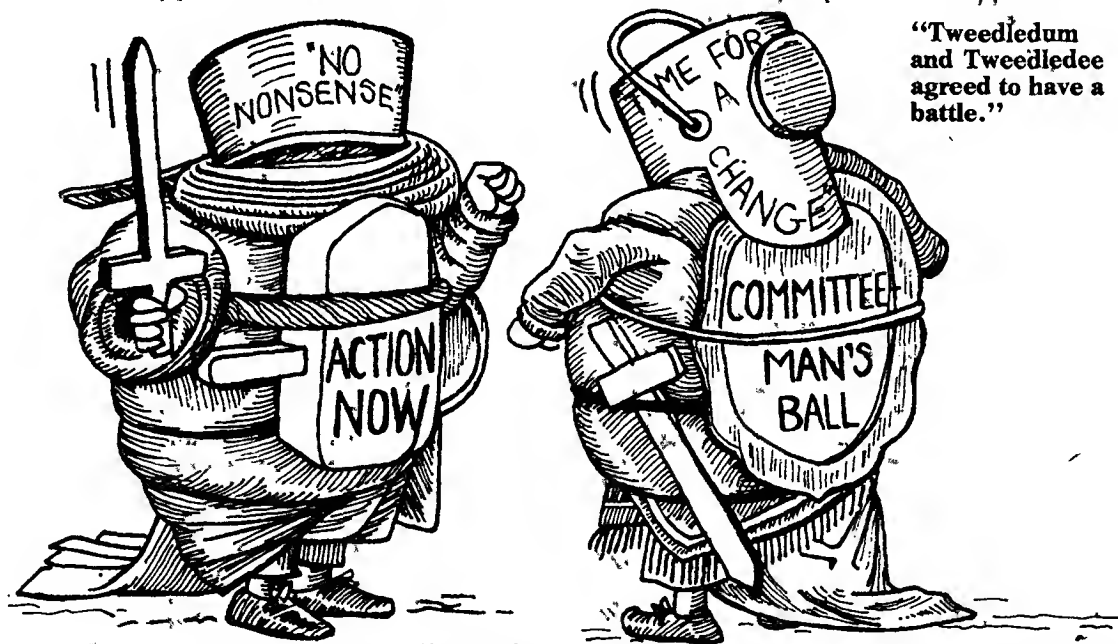
Some say they don't like the Rank and File Slate (Hafner), but they don't want a so-called radical slate either. They would like a “moderate” alternative. But there is no moderate alternative on the ballot—because there is no moderate alternative in real life.

Our real-life choices are between self-

defense and getting trampled on by the boss. Back in good times, your moderates filled a slot. They'd play for Chrysler a little, then for us a little. The new economic crisis has put them on the taxi squad.

I believe that our interests as workers are opposed to Chrysler's interests. Hafner, Woodcock and the machine believe that what's good for Chrysler is good for us. The difference is clearer now than it has been most of our working lives. Chrysler has proved its willingness to sacrifice our livings for its profits. I'm for defending our living at Chrysler's expense. Don't worry for their sake—they hire people at good money to do that, politicians included. They'll be back in the black next year. But will we?

The UAW leadership won't fight because it does not want to endanger Chrysler's profitability. It's as simple as that. Your choice is between a union leadership that is for the workers first and always—vote McCullough; or a union that is for Chrysler first and us second—vote Hafner.



Cartoon from a leaflet published by the Justice Committee of Local 235, ridiculing the phony choice offered by the two bureaucratic slates “Action Now” and “Committee Man's Ball.”

Local 212

Militant oppositionists in Local 212 are gaining strength against the ruling Green Slate. May 14 was election day. Our United National Caucus slate received on the average 20—25% of the vote.

SIT-DOWN AN ISSUE

Local 212 is an amalgamated Chrysler local on Detroit's East Side, which includes the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant, which on August 14, 1973 was shut by a sit-down strike. Event surrounding this strike were hotly debated in the May 14 elections. The issues debated were clear: which side are you on? What is the role of the union leadership? Is the union going to serve the needs of its



membership or Chrysler Corporation?

The August 1973 sit-down strike occurred because of membership frustration over hazardous working conditions and the lack of response from our elected leaders. For a period of about nine months, about two people per month were involved in power press accidents that maimed them for life. One person was killed. Company harassment, arbitrary discipline were the rule.

Union leadership should always be on the side of the workers! The United National Caucus came to the defense of the workers in the sit-down. In fact many members, some with over 20 years seniority, were involved and later fired.

The Green Slate, on the other hand, which controlled the Local, along with International Officers Doug Fraser and Emil Mazey, led a 1000-person goon squad made up of union bureaucrats to smash the strike. 73 people were fired; 33 never got their jobs back.

The situation was complicated even more because a political group called Workers Action Movement claimed responsibility for the whole event. They played right into the hands of the union bureaucracy and Chrysler. They brought out the red scare. They played on the dissatisfaction of the workers to gain publicity for themselves.

In this recent election, instead of telling us what their program was to help the membership, the Green Slate slandered the United National Caucus with a vicious red-baiting leaflet. They wanted to confuse people by telling them that the UNC was WAM. But they put their foot in their mouth—their leaflet entitled "Do Birds of a Feather Flock Together?" didn't go over so great. The very next day they had to put out another leaflet that was so mild it was practically a retraction.

WE CALLED FOR SHORT WEEKS

Our campaign literature talked about the past because it was an indictment of the Green Slate's failure to deal with the problems of the membership. That kind of pro-company "leadership" proves that it is no longer fit to lead.

We focused on the current crisis which is facing autoworkers. This depression has hit Local 212 hard. For a while almost 1/2 of the membership was on layoff. Currently the figure is closer to 1/4. For example, our

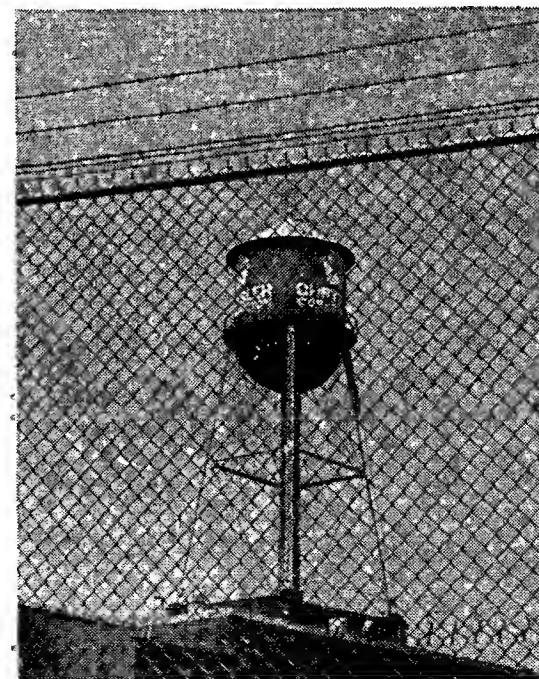
literature raised the demand of jobs for all through a shorter work week at full pay to get people back to work and to end all speed-up and harassment. We talked about the need to fight for better in-plant conditions and better living standards. Especially in times like these when the companies are cutting corners.

Throughout our literature we said that what we needed was a fighting UAW—one that is always on the side of the membership. But for that to happen, the whole membership will have to be organized. We'll have to rebuild the UAW in every local and all the way up to the International!

I was running for Trustee and was pleased with the vote the UNC got. This was the first local-wide election since the Caucus was put into disarray by the sit-down and the layoffs. But we are in the process of rebuilding. The vote was really encouraging because it shows that our support is growing—the vote was much larger than we got in the last election.

We now finally have the opportunity to build the UNC from our original base at the Mack Avenue Plant to the other plants in the Local. We are determined that next time the Green Slate will fall in defeat!

Sara Buckley



Green Slate Tries Smear, UNC Replies

GREEN SLATER—Joe Zappa at the time of the strike: "We're not going to let these bastards run our union!"

UNC—"When a union leadership, in its dealings with the rank and file, feels the need to resort to the use of force, threats, and curses—that leadership proves that it is no longer fit to lead. It was the failure of the Green Slate leadership to deal effectively with the problems of the membership—especially problems of hazardous plant conditions and arbitrary discharges—that created an explosive situation in the first place."

GREEN SLATE—"THERE WAS NO STRIKE AT THE MACK PLANT!—IT WAS A PLANNED TAKEOVER OF OUR MEMBERS' JOBS BY AN ADMITTED COMMUNIST GROUP....The Green Slate is proud of protecting the Membership of Local 212, and if the Communist try to take over the Local 212 plants—YES!—we will not sit idly by and see our union destroyed by a handful of them."

UNC—The Green Slate leadership throws up this WAM smokescreen because they want to avoid the real issues in this campaign. They think they can stir up a wave of anti-communist hysteria and use it to cover up for their total bankruptcy....It won't work!....Hank Ghant admitted as much when he broke into Chrysler top table negotiations two weeks prior to the disturbance crying that he was unable to control the situation at the Mack plant any longer....The Green Slate tried to tie up the United National Caucus with WAM, because we came to the defense of the workers under attack while the Green Slate was happy to throw these workers to the dogs....bringing in goons from as far away as Ohio and Indiana."

GREEN SLATE—"We are American trade unionists who believe in the Democratic process for even with all the injustices there may be in our system we still have freedom of expression...."

THE TWO SOULS OF CLUW

Enid Eckstein



On March 23, 1974, 3500 trade union women gathered in Chicago for the founding convention of the Coalition of Trade Union Women (CLUW). Women from 58 different unions and most of the 50 states came wanting to speak out for the struggle of working women and against the conservative, male-dominated leadership of the trade unions that had too long ignored their plight. They came not to chit chat, but to begin building a movement that would fight for their needs as working women. Myra Wolfgang, president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union made that very clear when she stated in her speech at the convention that "We did not come here to swap recipes."

From the time women have entered the work force they have been treated as second class citizens. They face inferior working conditions, lower pay and fewer opportunities for advancement. But alongside the development of the women's liberation movement of the 1960's there has developed a recognition among working women of the need to fight for equal treatment in the work place.

The creation of CLUW was an important step in the development of the American labor movement. The initiative in forming CLUW came from women bureaucrats from several major unions. Still, CLUW spoke to the needs, feelings, and frustrations of working women. The breakthroughs made by women in the past few years into formerly all male jobs intensified the problems women have.

And so CLUW was born on March 24, 1974.

TWO CLUWs

All the women who attended the founding convention came with a determination to build a working women's organization. But it was clear at the start there were different ideas on what CLUW should be. Rank and filers saw a potential in CLUW as an organization that would fight for equal pay for equal work, upgrading, better maternity benefits and child care. Women union leaders saw another CLUW—an organization that they could use to demand their just rewards from the male trade union leadership. As Olga Madar, past vice-president of the UAW and present national president of CLUW stated, "For whom will CLUW fight, and how." This is still one of the key questions within CLUW.

WORKING WOMEN'S CLUW

Rank and filers and militants were busy trying to build CLUW into an action oriented force. CLUW women marched in Farmworkers' marches and picket lines. In Atlanta CLUW began to press for affirmative action in hiring of women at a local steel plant. In Detroit rank and file women walked picket lines for the women of Helm, a small print shop out on strike. And in Denver, women telephone workers came to CLUW to aid them in their fight against the sexist practices of Mountain Bell. The list goes on—but everywhere where CLUW existed, **women were demanding that CLUW take action.** They wanted CLUW to organize strike support, fight for affirmative action and the fight to organize the unorganized.

Meanwhile the bureaucrats were trying to consolidate their power and close the Pandora's box they had opened. Rank and filers who had returned from the convention began to build chapters in their cities. In many cases rank and filers followed the rules to the letter—only to be told they had missed some new requirements for setting up a chapter. And they would have to start all over again.

More often than not, the fight against inequality meant taking on conservative trade union leaders for their blatant sexism. In Detroit, attempts by rank and filers to aid a group of women steel workers at Great Lakes Steel (Local 1299) brought them into direct conflict with the male leadership of the United Steel Workers of America. The very same leadership that negotiated the Consent Decree which institutionalizes sexism. In Cleveland, attempts by CLUW members to support a fired militant at a GE plant were axed because CLUW members were critical of the union for not fighting for the women's job.

The question that would determine the future of CLUW became not just, "For whom will CLUW fight?" but also, "Would CLUW take on the male leadership of the trade union movement?"

This was one of the key debates at the January CLUW National Coordinating Committee meeting in St. Louis. (This body meets quarterly to determine policy). A motion was barely passed which stated, "No demonstrative action against an employer could be taken without the consent of the unions involved." In practice, this meant that women in Detroit



can not give support to women steel workers unless they get the agreement of the union leadership—the very same leadership that has consistently refused to act in their behalf. It means that actions such as the Cleveland picket in support of a fired militant are out—although they have been successful.

THE BUREAUCRATS' CLUW

Olga Madar and others have made it clear that they see CLUW as a pressure group fighting primarily for more women inside the existing trade union leadership. They have shown they are not willing to challenge the conservative and male-dominated policies of that leadership—they just want to flex their muscles and hope the male leadership will move over and give them some crumbs.

Madar is the national leader of CLUW, which unless transformed has little future for working women. Two events sum up the Madar conception of union women's role.

1) In the summer of 1973, Madar stood shoulder to shoulder with reactionary racist male UAW bureaucrats in the goon squad which broke the Mack Ave. wildcat strike in Detroit.

2) As the only top women officer of the

UAW, Madar never led a fight within the union for women's rights. It was not until the EEOC decisions came down that the question of affirmative action was fought for in the UAW for women. Madar never fought for any of the various resolutions that the women's department would submit to all the convention for the improvement of the condition of women in the plants and the union.

On International Women's Day 1975, Olga Madar made it clear which CLUW she was for. CLUW sponsored nationwide actions. These were in many cases the first public activity of CLUW. Atlanta CLUW, controlled by rank and filers, joined with other community and political groups to sponsor a march. Madar, who has long attacked the Atlanta chapter for its activities, choose to speak at a rival event in Atlanta and spent her time attacking the Atlanta chapter and threatening to revoke its charter. While Olga Madar is busy jet-setting across the country, sabotaging CLUW, rank and filers understand that it is we who have to save CLUW and realize its potential.

ORGANIZING THE BASE

The bureaucratic handling of conflicts and new rules dreamed up to prevent activity, have caused rank and filers to join together

informally to push CLUW into activity and the challenge the present leadership attitudes towards CLUW.

Just as UAW members have learned over the years that if they want their leadership to act for their needs, they must organize a movement to make them do so, women in CLUW are learning that. Many women enter CLUW thinking that the woman leadership will be different because they are women. But rank and filers are beginning to understand that it is the same regardless of sex. In fact in many cases it is the same women who are in the leadership of CLUW that have been part of the leadership of their unions that have ignored them.

For example, the UAW long ignored the special problems of their women members even while Olga Madar was one of the vice presidents of the union. This is a union where every local is required constitutionally to have a Women's Committee—to fight against sexism? No—to collect for charity and attend Democratic Party women's rallies

It has been women active in the UAW rank and file movement that have been particularly active in the fight to make CLUW an organization that serves trade union women because they well know the role Olga Madar played in the UAW. UAW women fought at the founding convention to make CLUW as open and democratic as possible. The leadership has responded by red-baiting and smearing oppositionists. Olga Madar learned one lesson well in the UAW—red-bait your opposition. We have been fighting in Detroit for CLUW to adopt programs that address themselves to the thousands of laid-off auto workers. Layoffs virtually wiped out the female workforce in many plants. And the women left inside are now treated as unnatural, unwelcome relics by the boss.

As rank and file women in CLUW have begun to informally organize through letters and exchange of information, the top leadership has further consolidated itself, too. Public activity has become severely limited. In Detroit, where the lines have been very clear, there hasn't even been a business meeting in two months. Myra Wolfgang, who spoke for militancy at the founding convention, has not been seen since—in her own hometown, Detroit. In the past year there has been only one educational event.

UP TO US

CLUW is the first women's trade union organization in almost 100 years. The leadership wishes it would die and are attempting to strangle it. The next half year until the 1975 convention (time and place still to be determined) will be crucial. It will be the job of women rank and filers to join CLUW, build it and organize other rank and filers within it to challenge the present leadership and its conception of CLUW at that convention. That task begins now. This issues are clear. We already have conservative, male-dominated unions which do not even serve their own male members. We do not need conservative, female-dominated unions to do as little for us. CLUW must become an open, democratic organization that can engage in action on behalf of trade union women even if it means taking on the trade unions themselves.

Network encourages all sisters to take part in the rank and file struggles at work—with men, and multi-racially. And to carry the methods and tactics we learn there into CLUW itself. It is the day-to-day organization and resistance we do that can build a movement in CLUW to make CLUW an organization that fights for trade union women.



Subcontracting At Ford

BY DAVE McCULLOUGH, LOCAL 869

THE OLDEST TRICK IN THE BOOK

Some spend their lives currying favor. We all know bullies and bootlickers. They're usually the same people.

But the best road to becoming a Privileged Character has been the same since Year 1. That's to be the guy who dishes out the favors.

This only works when things are scarce. If they weren't, the boss' motto "Divide and Conquer" would be replaced by the workers' motto "Divide and Enjoy the Pie."

Nowadays jobs are scarce. At Ford's Tool and Die Unit, they are **super-scarce**.

THEY ARE SHIPPING OUT WORK.....

Ford Corporation is trying to beef up its power over us by dangling jobs before our eyes. They hope that we will fight over these jobs, like children over candy. "Me first! I'm the oldest." Or, "Me, Daddy! Jimmy's just a step-brother." **Anything so's we don't just gang up and take it all to divide among ourselves.**

Tool and die makers have been long-time victims of this old tactic—sub-contracting. We have known for years that Ford has had the majority of its tooling program built outside of Ford plants — 80% according to Ford's own officials. While some of this work goes to union shops, much of it goes to scab shops, union shops paying scab wages and to cheap overseas labor markets. Fixtures have been built in Mexico and dies in Brazil—where

unionism is illegal, striking a capital offense.

.....WHILE THOUSANDS ARE OUT ON THE STREET

Ford's UAW Tool and Die Unit, Local 600, under the leadership of Al Gardner, UNC Executive Board member and chairman of the Independent Skilled Trades Council, has taken the position that all work should stay in the respective bargaining units as long as workers are on layoff. When all members are back to work, any overspill of work should go to only union shops paying union-scale wages.

As we will see, there are some reefs to be navigated in winning this policy. But first, let's look at what skilled tradesmen have already done to win it.

Sub-contracting was a major issue in the 73 contract negotiations. But the International dictated that sub-contracting was not the issue. This put the blade to the workers' throats and the layoffs drove it home.

The tradesmen did not give up. Talk of a breakaway union rose again. A mass meeting called by the United National Caucus decided to appeal the International's screw-job. They did and lost. In March of this year, a mass picket-demonstration by members of the Ford Dearborn Tool and Die Unit, supported by the Independent Skilled Trades Council (UAW) and the United National Caucus, resulted in some jobs being re-assigned to the Local 600 bargaining unit. (Actions indeed spoke louder than words.) The most prevalent slogan at the demonstration was "FORD WORK FOR FORD WORKERS."

UNITY

"Still," say the Ford Dearborn tool and die

men, "the problem affecting all UAW skilled trades stays unresolved and will remain that way until all UAW skilled trades gather together and fight as one body."

The will to fight is already there. That is a proven fact. To go further, they must find their way not only to a united organization, such as the ISTC, but to the **formula for a united struggle**. "Ford work for Ford workers" is not that formula. It won't cut much ice at Budd, which is one of the farm teams for Ford dies. Or at Chrysler, which recently had some of its dies made at Ford. Or in the small shops around Detroit.

If we unpack that slogan a little, we can see why. There are two different ideas in it: "Ford for Ford..." and "...work for workers." The first is the boss' policy. The second is ours. When they are mixed together, you get the idea that What's Ford's is Ford's—not just the jobs, but **us too**. We don't belong to Ford. We just work there. We belong to the UAW,

along with Budd, and all the other workers. To see why this distinction makes all the difference, let's make up a little story.

It's 1976. Ford's turn to be struck by the UAW. Ford never liked the union. The UAW couldn't crack it until after the Great Depression. Now, with layoffs like the 30s, Ford decides to try union-busting like the 30s. Instead of bringing in scabs, they ship out work. Will the workers at the other companies rally to our calls for solidarity and "Hot cargo" (refuse to touch) Ford jobs? Or will they — encouraged under the table by Bannon — work away like happy little beavers, singing "Ford Strikes for Ford Strikers"?

Why invite such a mess? There is a perfectly good unifying idea, one that will cement us into a solid fighting force: "Share the work at full pay. 30 for 40. Jobs for All." It is the one, and only solution to our biggest crisis. It ain't catchy, but it's a winner. And that's what counts.

THE OLE PHILOSOPHER SEZ:

You've probably met this inspector. If you showed him a hanky, he'd say, "It'll never work. There's no holes for your fingers."

Some of the guys were talkin' bout WORKERS CONTROL of PRODUCTION. He sez: "Never work! With no foreman around, nobody'd do anything."

Well, he don't have to worry bout it cause he got laid off six months ago.

Saw him at Sears. Told me he wuz gonna bump into production. Said, "I can't stand just sittin' round the house not doing anything!"



INDEPENDENT SKILLED TRADES COUNCIL REPORT

The Independent Skilled Trades Council (UAW) is an independent rank and file organization of skilled tradesmen, dedicated to fighting for a militant and democratic UAW. Since its birth in August of 1974, it has grown rapidly. Today over 4,000 skilled workers belong to the council.

On April 6, over 250 council members met in Detroit to adopt a tentative set of by-laws and to further establish and deepen the Council's program. Resolutions were presented and adopted which committed the ISTC to positions on nearly every area of union policy; collective bargaining demands, union democracy, legislative programs.

The meeting was an important event in the process of defining the nature of the organization, a question which will ultimately be answered in practical activity. What it did reflect clearly was that even though the Council is large enough to represent a wide variety of views, those forces in the Council which tend to take a more conservative, narrow and craft minded approach to the problems of Skilled Trades workers could not offer any credible alternative to the majority which is committed to militant industrial unionism, to both independent skilled trades organization and to an alliance with production workers.

Some of the most important resolutions passed were for rank and file control of the union through such measures as the restoration of the membership right to reject contracts, a referendum vote of International officers, and a skilled trades council with clear legislative power.

The Council also took a position against the old toothless strategy of one-at-a-time strikes for national contracts, and for a general strike strategy for the entire labor movement.

In response to the enormous unemployment in the auto industry, the Council committed

itself to fight for a 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay as a top priority as both a legislative and collective bargaining goal.

If you're an UAW skilled tradesman, the ISTC is the way to go.

Join Today

Dues for the Independent Skilled Trades Council [UAW] will be one dollar per month. This is a voluntary organization with the UAW open to all members in the skilled trades. There is no legal financial obligation associated with joining the Council. Give applications and dues to your local representative or mail to: P.O. Box 135 East Detroit, Michigan, 48021.

I want to join the Independent Skilled Trades Council [UAW].

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

Local union.....Phone.....

Shop.....Union office?.....

Trade?.....Shift?.....

Unemployed Committee Of Local 599

The Unemployed Committee of Local 599, Buick, Flint, Michigan was formed in February of this year. It is comprised of members from several backgrounds, ranging from people that have worked in the union before to newcomers to union activity.

To date the Unemployed Committee has been involved in several different areas. We have attempted to organize the other locals in the region (1-C) into a region-wide unemployed committee, but as of yet the other local leaderships will have none of it. It is obvious to us that the reasons for this unwillingness to cooperate for the good of the rank and file of the unemployed of this area is politically motivated jealousy.

The Unemployed Committee has held one rally on April 11th. It was attended by 700 unemployed workers from this area. The Unemployed Committee has also presented motions to the general membership asking (demanding) that Brother Woodcock make good on his promise and set the date for a massive Washington demonstration. We stated that we should go to Washington and stay if need be until the politicians decide to do something about the high rate of unemployment in the nation. We have directed our local CAP council to begin investigating the feasibility of a labor party in the Genesee county area. (No word has been returned to us yet on this issue.)

Out of this committee it looks as though a local chapter of CLUW may get started by some of the women that are dissatisfied with the treatment of females by local and state authorities.

Our committee is still waiting for more members to be recruited from other locals. It looks as though it may be up to the Local 599 committee to go into these other locals and form the 1-C Unemployed Committee without the help of the local leaders of these locals.

This is by no means enough. There is still plenty of work for the unemployed committee to do. Many other ideas have been kicked around at our weekly committee meetings. Some of those ideas include the possibility of the rank and file forming their own political party that would truly represent the views of the workers rather than the views of the Democrats.

The UAW bureaucrats have been discussed in length. Many of the members of the Unemployed Committee seem dissatisfied with the inability of the UAW in its present state to take meaningful action to deal with the current problems of the workers that are unemployed.

We will continue to work towards the goal of building a real workers' union through these methods mentioned above.

Russ Cook



APRIL 26 RALLY FOR JOBS: A Network Analysis

On April 26, 60,000 workers rallied in Washington for jobs. This was the first such demonstration called by the American labor movement since the great depression.

It was called by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. Because of increasing rank and file pressure the I.U.D. wanted a rally at Kennedy Stadium, where they were confident of their ability to control the ranks. George ("I've never walked a picket line in my life") Meany, President of the AFL-CIO warned against any public rallies. After all, he said, you just can't control what the ranks will do. And so George Meany, head of the American labor movement, refused to endorse the rally.

A number of "liberal" unions on the east coast who were sponsoring the rally at Kennedy Stadium also called a march for earlier that morning. Among these was Region 9 of the UAW. Nationally the UAW refused to give their endorsement to this rally although it certainly answered Woodcock's promises of a major labor rally to be held in Washington for jobs.

All the labor leaders there felt they could speak for the rank and file and its problems. But there were thousands and thousands of rank and filers there who wanted to speak for themselves and make their anger known. The most organized and most conscious voice of the rank and file was the April 26 Rank and File Coalition.

The Rank and File Coalition was formed to bring together various rank and file organizations and individuals to demand real action at the Washington demonstration. Called by a leader of the opposition movement within the AFT, the Coalition included rank and file groupings such as RAFT in the Steelworkers,

United Action in the Communications Workers and Local 249 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Unionists joined the Rank and File Coalition because they were tired of a labor movement that did nothing and had no program for fighting the worst crisis since the depression. Those who joined the Rank and File Coalition were already engaged in a fight within their unions to make their leadership fight for them.

Before Humphrey, who was the second speaker, got very far in his speech, several thousand demonstrators poured onto the field shouting "No more Promises, We want jobs." Humphrey's response was "Yes, we hear you, we'll give you jobs."

This time no one believed him or the other Democratic party politicians like Abzug who were sent out to control the crowd. Those on the field were sending their leaders a message loud and clear. No more empty promises.

An hour after it had begun the rally was cancelled.

The events on the field started spontaneously. The Coalition then entered the field to give them an organized expression. Since then, many trade union officials have tried to place the blame for the events on the field with the Rank and File Coalition. One went so far as to start a blacklist. (See letter.)

But at the same time, the trade union officials have been forced to admit the rally collapsed because of the overwhelming anger of the workers there.

Robert Brindza, a AFSCME district director from Cleveland said, "I think the people who might have contributed to breaking up the rally, if there was a break-up, indicated the mood of the people today."

THE FIGHT HAS JUST BEGUN



APRIL 26 RANK AND FILE COALITION



MEMORANDUM
SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL-CIO, CLC
200 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006

Date: April 29, 1975

To: All Affiliated Local Unions

From: George Hardy

Subject:

On Saturday, April 26, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO sponsored a massive demonstration in Washington, D.C., demanding federal action to create more jobs. The demonstration was successful in that it brought an estimated 60,000 people to Washington, D.C. and resulted in several parades and picketing demonstrations as well as a huge demonstration at Washington's Kennedy Stadium. Several SEIU locals (from the District of Columbia, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Kentucky and other neighboring states), as well as SEIU officials and staff, participated.

Unfortunately, the otherwise orderly and effective rally was interrupted by representatives of certain groups from outside the labor movement which were attempting to disrupt the rally and cause chaos and dissension.

I am attaching a piece of literature called "The Fight Has Just Begun" which was distributed by one of these groups. You will note that its main function is to attempt to split the labor movement and to criticize the established leadership of the labor movement.

I also call your attention to the list of organizations and individuals on the leaflet. Some of these are from bona fide local unions and others are from rump and splinter groups. I suggest that it may be worthwhile to retain this listing of organizations and individuals for future reference.



Rank and File Coalition leaflet [top left] and letter from George Hardy [top right] encouraging a blacklist of Coalition supporters. Bottom, the Coalition marching in Washington on April 26.

And Robert A. Roe, a Democratic Congressman from New Jersey who was at the rally, responded this way: "I think this is a signpost to America. People are distressed. They are just trying to be heard. Maybe public officials ought to listen to them instead of giving speeches. The people didn't come here to listen to 20 minute speeches. They want to speak for themselves."

And speak for themselves they did through the Rank and File Coalition. What the trade union officials saw and heard shocked them. It showed them how out of touch they had become with their own members. They saw a rank and file that was angry and determined to do something about jobs.

Those who had travelled hundreds of miles and expected some program from their leadership had to turn to the independently organized Rank and File Coalition rally instead. There, speakers from all of the sponsoring organizations agreed on the need to build a movement to fight for jobs.

They spoke of the intensifying economic crisis, the unwillingness of the present trade union leadership to fight and the need to join militants from all unions together to build a united labor movement.

Militants from many different unions came together for the first time and understood through discussion the similarity of their problems. They also understood that it was not enough to build a caucus within one local or even a national opposition group in one union. It is crucial, they said, that groups from different unions come together and fight around a unified program of action.

The rank and file is not yet organized enough to be able to throw out the present sell-out leadership of the trade union movement. The task ahead is to organize a nationwide movement that can take up the struggles of all workers regardless of race or sex. April 26 was an important first step in the building of that movement. As one of the speakers at the Coalition rally said: "The politicians will hear the voice of the rank and file loud and clear. WE WANT JOBS AND WE WANT THEM NOW. Not 50,000 strong, but millions. We will chant across the entire nation, we will march to the drums of the rank and file brothers and sisters before us, and we'll never be stopped. We'll organize until we gain our freedom. As those before us weren't stopped, neither will we be."

RANK AND FILE COALITION PROGRAM

- **Jobs Now**—Guarantee full employment now—Share the work at full pay—30 hours work for 40 hours pay.
- **Ban all overtime while there are layoffs.**
- **End military aid to Cambodia and Vietnam**—Use the war budget to provide jobs and social services.
- **Fight racism—Fight sexism.**
- **For independent political action to build a labor party.**
- **For a one-day strike to back these demands.**

SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

Rank and File Team [RAFT], United Steel Workers; **United National Caucus [UNC]**, United Auto Workers; **IBT Local 249**, Joint Council 40, Pittsburgh; **Alliance of Concerned Teachers**, DFT Local 231, Detroit; **United Action Caucus**, CWA Local 1101, New York; **Concerned Rank and File Teamsters**, IBT Local 249, Pittsburgh; **Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union**, Chicago Truck Drivers Union, Chicago; **Rank and File Caucus**, AFT 2334; **Workers for Collective Progress**, Louisville, Ky.; **UNC Mack Ave. Stamping**, UAW Local 212, Detroit; **Gear and Axle Justice Committee**, UAW Local 235, Detroit; **Alliance of Concerned Teamsters**, IBT Local 135, Indianapolis; **Rank and File Coalition**, UAW Local 6, Chicago; **United Action**, CWA Local 10310, Louisville; **AFT Local 3220**, Madison.

The organizers of the Rank and File Coalition announced that there would be a continuations committee formed to keep the individuals and groups who participated in the rank and file contingent in touch with each other.

To contact them, write:

Rank and File Coalition
c/o United National Caucus
P.O. Box 3821
Centerline, Michigan 48015.

The UAW Public Review Board

by John Anderson

The UAW Public Review Board was set up by convention mandate in 1958. It was set up in response to passage of the Landrum-Griffin Act. The UAW leadership saw the need for "an impartial" group of public figures who would act as window dressing to cover corruption in locals and the undemocratic control of the union by the Reuther-Mazey machine.

In 17 years the Board has made decisions in 350 cases. Rarely does a decision go against the International union. The secret of the Board, little known to the public or UAW membership, is that its executive secretary, David Y. Kline, who has held the position for 15 years, is in the position to screen cases that might embarrass the UAW leadership. In his capacity as executive secretary he acts as a public relations man for the UAW leadership. In collusion with the International he determines what cases go to the Board. He not only helps determine what cases go to the Board, but prepares the public record so as to please the UAW bureaucracy.

Case 340 is an exception. He could lose his job for exposing to the public how the UAW handles the grievances of its members.

I learned first hand how the Board functioned when they refused to give me a hearing although they decided I had been illegally suspended from Local 15 for a period

of 13 months. I was suspended because I raised the question of corruption against the local officials. This corruption was being finaced by the International union. If I had been given a hearing the PRB could no longer say that no charges of corruption had been brought against the leadership.

Case 340 shows how speed up greivances are disposed of by local bureaucrats. As is almost always the case the PRB defends the conduct of the Local's and International's disposition of a grievance.

We who have taken complaints to the UAW Public Review Board have known that this Board serves the interests of the bureaucracy rather than the UAW membership but few cases prove this point as well as PRB Case No. 340. The following are quotations from this case.

DECISION (April 9, 1975)

PANEL SITTING: Rt. Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins, Chairman; Prof. Harry W. Arthurs; Prof. James E. Jones, Jr.; Hon. Frank W. McCulloch; Dr. Jean T. McKelvey; Dean Theodore J. St. Antoine, members.

Mary Hebert of Local Union 731 of Tenton, New Jersey, appeals the dismissal of her

charges that her committeeman had engaged in conduct unbecoming to a union member.

I

The incident from which this dispute arose occurred on February 24, 1974, when appellant complained to both her employer and committeeman that the line on which she worked was speeding up. A discussion of her charges was held informally in the office of the Shop Chairman, during which she alleges that her committeeman, Michael Dragustine, stated to her, "You are no good"; "You are a trouble maker"; "You are not fit to brush my wife's shoes"; "I can get a list of 100 names of people who can prove you are a trouble maker and no good."

The following day Mrs. Hebert charged Dragustine with defamation of character and conduct unbecoming a committeeman. The local union executive board dismissed the charges on the ground they failed to state a violation of the Constitution or conduct unbecoming a member of the union. (1) Mrs. Hebert appealed to the International President who concluded the local union executive board correctly analyzed the charges and that they did not sustain a charge of conduct unbecoming a union member because Article 31 was not intended to be utilized to settle 'every minor dispute and flareup between members of the Local Union.' (2) After receiving this decision appellant requested a reconsideration, this time asserting that the President and the Local Executive Board had failed to consider the effect of Article 39, which provides for the oath



of a Local Union officer takes at installation ceremonies, upon Dragustine's responsibilities towards her. The President, however, informed her that the decision was final and that her next avenue of redress was the Public Review Board, whereupon she appealed to the PRB on October 20, 1974.

Her appeal adds no new issues and she again reasserts that committeemen have higher standards of behavior to meet by virtue of their position, as compared to rank and file union members. The answer of the International Union reasserts the position that Article 31 was designed to correct 'major, serious conduct deviations by members' and was not intended to 'deal with minor flare-ups and differences between Local Union members.' (3)

II

Article 31, Section (c) provides in part:

"Prior to the notification to a member that charges have been filed against him, the Local Union Executive Board shall review the charges and consider them improper if:

(C) The act complained of does not sustain a charge of violation of the Constitution or conduct unbecoming a member of the Union; ..."

"We have been confronted on numerous occasions with claims that conduct of Local Union officials, and particularly committeemen, are subject to charges arising out of their conduct of their office. We have ruled, however, that Local Union officials are generally not answerable to charges as a result of action they may take in the performance to their official duties unless such actions are improperly motivated. Carper vs. Local Union 662, PRB No. 248, (1972).

"We have also recognized that the Constitutional standard 'conduct unbecoming a union member' is one which is not subject of precise definition. Nevertheless, applying the standard in Comley vs. Noble, PRB No. 142 (1965), we observed that:

"It is a fundamental hypothesis of any disciplinary system that one subject to its structures be able to know beforehand when his conduct is likely to bring him within the realm of proscribed activity. Minimally, therefore, for an act to amount to 'conduct unbecoming a union member' there must be demonstrated on the part of the charged party either a culpable intent to injure the recognized interests so flagrant as to be wilful or wanton."

Mrs. Hebert complains that her committee-

man has engaged in conduct unbecoming a union members because he allegedly defamed her character. She maintains he is held to a higher standard than other union members by reason of his office.

"First, we find we cannot subscribe to Mrs. Hebert's position. Often in the heat of argument comments are made which would have been better unsaid. It is important for the conduct of common human social relations that the propensity which we all have for bombast, exaggeration, general unkindness and lack of consideration be recognized for what it is—a personal human failing. We find, however, that Committeeman Dragustine's rejoinders to her fall short of a culpable intent to injure recognized interests of a fellow union member.

"Second, the internal disciplinary procedures of Article 31 were never intended to accommodate the day to day petty differences between UAW members nor are they a palliative for the redress of fancied wrongs or slights. Disagreements of the sort which have occurred here between Mrs. Hebert and Mr. Dragustine must in the final analysis be resolved personally between them, if they are to be resolved at all.

"The charge does not state a conduct unbecoming a union member. It was therefore properly dismissed."

Affirmed.

[John is past President of Local 15, now retired]

GIVE THIS TO YOUR FAVORITE BUREAUCRAT

TUIT

This is an indispensable item for every union official. For years, you have been saying, "I'll do it as soon as I get a round tuit." The above is a round tuit. Cut it out, keep it handy, and you'll have no more trouble taking care of business. You finally got a round tuit.

the local union stating our desire to remain members and asking if there was anything they wanted us to do. We also prepared to challenge the ruling of the President at the next membership meeting and requested that all members be sent a letter by the Local explaining what they must do to stay members.

At the Feb. 1975 membership meeting, President Stutzman and Secretary Schaefer said they had checked with the International and admitted they had been wrong to harass these members. However, they refused to send a letter to laid-off members, because they said: "The postage would cost too much, some members live as far away as Pennsylvania." (Our President didn't explain how much a 10 cent stamp costs in Pennsylvania.)

We then put our request in the form of a motion, which was seconded, and demanded a vote on the question. There was a voice vote which clearly carried the motion, but President Stutzman ruled "the nays have it" and then adjourned the meeting in the midst of membership demands to divide the house on the motion.

At the March 16 membership meeting, the rules of the upcoming elections were read. These included a rule that laid-off members in good standing for 12 consecutive months could vote. We asked how this would be determined and were told that it was to be based on the dues check-off list of Dec. 1973. This meant that if you were in good standing before the layoffs you could vote, **unless the Local issued you a withdrawal card.** The Local also stated that no laid-off members could run for bargaining committee positions because the company did not have to let laid-off members into the plant.

This rule caused a long debate between members of LAW and the "leadership". LAW felt that the bargaining committee should be open to laid-off members because those were the positions within the union that could have the most effect on a program to stop layoffs, because the committee negotiates the contract.

We also saw a need to change our present bargaining committee because we are believed to be the only GM local union who have been without a local agreement since Sept., 1973. The "leadership" said that neither laid-off nor **discharged** members could run, and that was final.

On April 1, Doug Stevens, a member of Linden Auto Workers, who has been discharged since Sept. 1973, was issued a withdrawal card dated March 27, 1975, even though this

member has been ordered reinstated by a judge from the NLRB.

The withdrawal card was issued in order to prevent this member from running for the position of shop committeeman-at-large. The decision to issue this card was arrived at, according to Financial Sec. Schaefer, during a meeting of Schaefer, Stutzman, and Regional Director Gerber. Gerber then called UAW Vice President Patrick Greathouse who, according to Schaefer, ordered the issuance of the withdrawal card. Members of LAW prepared to appeal the decision at the April 27 membership meeting, which according to the UAW Constitution (Art. 33, Secs. 2 and 5) is the first step of any appeal. The President and Financial Secretary blocked the entrance to the meeting and refused to hear the appeal.

On May 1, the Local union sent Doug Stevens a letter formally denying him a position on the ballot. On May 8, the Local was ordered to appear in US District Court and show cause why the name of Doug Stevens should not be placed on the ballot. During the hearing on this matter, which lasted 3 days (May 9, 12, and 13—while elections were May 14 and 16), the International attorney argued that "the reason for the denial is that GM's UAW contract says in paragraph 17 that you must work for GM to be on the bargaining committee." Evidently the International saw nothing wrong with GM picking union officials.

The second argument was that "Stevens should have sent a letter to President Woodcock to get a decision on this matter." But it was Woodcock who made the agreement that "you must be working for GM to be on the bargaining committee." And it was VP Greathouse who ordered the withdrawal card issued.

OUR ANSWER—EXTEND THE STRUGGLE

On May 13, the judge rejected the International's first argument, but agreed with the second, saying that "Stevens should have exhausted other appeals, such as the Regional Director and the International Executive Board." The judge did not say when Stevens was supposed to do all this—we guess he means after the elections.

LAW intends to appeal this decision about a discharge member, and we intend to appeal the decision on the rights of laid-off members. But what we really think is necessary is a Special Convention to be called for the purpose of stopping the layoffs and to extend full union membership rights for the duration of layoffs. Although we will do all we can, we look to the United National Caucus to lead the fight on a national level.



LOCAL ELECTION POSTSCRIPT

LATE BULLETIN: "Fired employee came close" to winning the presidency of Local 140, Dodge Truck, wrote the Detroit News. Steve Smith took 906 votes to 1,595 for Nate Gooden. This is the best percentage showing made by an overtly left-wing candidate in recent UAW elections. Smith was the shop steward who led the Dodge wildcat strike last summer. The strike was broken by collusion between the union, company, and city of Warren, Mich., which sent cops to the plant to back up a US judge who held court in the parking lot to arrest pickets. It was clear that the workers preferred Smith's militancy to the bureaucracy's strike-breaking.

To defeat him, says the News, "Smith and

his followers found themselves almost buried in a blizzard of fliers. One was a four-page reprint of a report of testimony about American Maoists compiled by the now-disbanded [not to mention discredited!—Ed.] House Internal Security Committee."

The smell of Solidarity House panic is overwhelming in this example of red-baiting overkill propaganda. "Nobody at the UAW's international headquarters will admit where the leaflets came from," wrote the News. "But I think they were damned effective" said an international representative. Doug Fraser was a little more out front for the anti-union News: "We're just not going to allow them to take over this union." That says a lot about the UAW practice of union democracy, when the only "take over" in question was who was going to win a simple election.